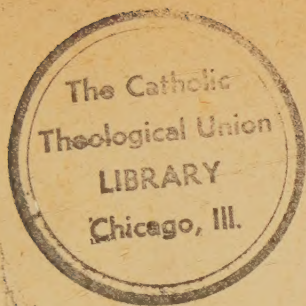


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WITHDRAWN

AMERICAN



W. E. J. Cooper

Gissing Rectory. Advent 1909

Dies Træ.



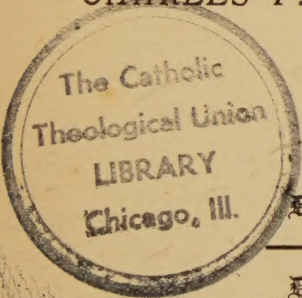
THE AUTHORSHIP, TEXT, AND HISTORY
OF THE HYMN

Dies Iræ,

WITH CRITICAL, HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BY THE REV.

CHARLES F. S. WARREN, M.A.

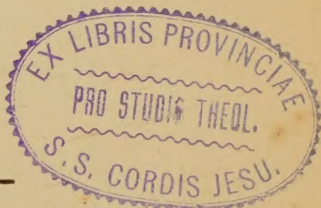


Dies

Iræ

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Cheaper Re-issue.

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CHARLES HIGHAM, 27A FARRINGDON STREET, E.C.

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PREFACE.

THIS work was begun in 1878, laid by for about a year in 1883-84 under the pressure of another engagement, on the ceasing of this again resumed, and thenceforward carried on with little more than the temporary interruptions which must happen in all cases of a lengthy undertaking. For the last three or four years it has been practically complete, and unpublished only for pecuniary reasons ; and even now, as I shall presently explain, it is impossible to publish the whole.

When I first began the work I had by me about a dozen versions, being those best known, with two or three less common which chance had happened to throw in my way ; and I thought it possible that research might disclose, say an equal number unknown to me, so that the whole, with such notes as it might occur to me to write, would little exceed the size of a large pamphlet.

But as my intention of collecting the versions became known by degrees to others interested in the subject, I received copies of or references to far more than I had any idea of ; so that my list of existing versions, instead of about twice, now contains considerably more than *ten times* the original number, and there is every reason to suppose that it is still incomplete. I was like the astronomers searching for asteroids : when Hencke found Astræa in 1845 he perhaps thought he might discover enough to about double the original four, but now there

are more than four hundred ; in each case the more search is made the more are found, and the conclusion must at last be that the number of objects is practically numberless.

Again, as I began to examine and compare these versions, I perceived that there was much more to be said on the subject than I had thought ; and I became aware that though much had been written on the Hymn, and from more than one point of view, yet no really systematic inquiry into the nature of a good translation had ever been attempted. This version and that version has been criticized, and what I speak of has been done for this verse and that verse ; but for the Hymn as a whole I cannot find that it has been done. Into such an attempt therefore the few notes of which I had thought expanded ; it then became necessary, for the sake of literary completeness, to restate historical facts already known—though even to these I trust that I have been enabled to make some addition—and thus the Essay has assumed its present shape ; in which I hope that it may be of interest to hymnologists ; and not only of interest to future translators, but of use as pointing out certain considerations which some at least, as their work shews, have in the past not weighed sufficiently.

A word must be said on the plan which, after a little hesitation, has been resolved upon, to print, as it is fully hoped may at a future time be done, the whole collection of versions *in extenso*. It is at once admitted that the result will be very much repetition, in many cases verbal, and not a little bad writing. But the plan cannot be denied to have its own interest ; and the alternative of printing extracts would be less applicable to a large collection than to a small one. For in the latter case the extracts required for illustration, such as in fact are given, might be regarded as

a fair representation of the whole ; whereas in the former it cannot be so ; and if I were of set purpose to give extracts from every or nearly every version, the result (since many, at any rate, must be printed at length, and since very few indeed—not more than two or three—are absolutely and entirely worthless) would occupy not so very much less space than the whole.

But at the present time it is impossible to print these versions, for it is found that they will be more costly, and will take a much larger volume, than has rather hastily been taken hitherto for granted. The Essay, therefore, is sent forth alone, both for its own sake and for the sake of what, if all goes well, will follow it : to do what it may to interest its own readers, if any it shall gain, and, if possible, to induce them to give that help which the author is compelled to ask towards the appearance of its successors. The author hopes his readers will think it would be unfortunate if so large a collection of versions, brought together with much pains and trouble, should again be lost or scattered ; and he will be very glad to receive the names of subscribers at Longford, Coventry.

Finally, the most pleasant task is to thank all those, both English and American, who have helped me : they are too many to name individually, and some have asked me not so to mention them ; without particularizing, therefore, I offer my sincere and hearty gratitude.

LITERATURE OF THE DIES IRÆ.

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- Do. : Hymnologische Forschungen. Stralsund, 1832.
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Bonn, 1847.
- Daniel, H. A. : Thesaurus Hymnologicus. Leipsic, 1855,
1856, 5 vols.
- Trench, Abp. : Sacred Latin Poetry. London, 1st ed.
1849, 3rd ed. 1874.
- Coles, Abr. : The Dies Iræ in Thirteen Original Versions.
N. Y., 1st ed. 1859, 5th ed. 1868.
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Hymns. N. Y., 1889.
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- Julian, J. : Dictionary of Hymnology. London, 1892.
- Schaff, P. : Hours at Home, May and July, 1868, N. Y.
Expanded into the former work.

Spectator, 7th Mar. 1868.

Macmillan's Magazine, Dec. 1868, Sept. 1874, Jan. 1878.

Saturday Review, 5th Sept. 1874, 23rd Aug. and 20th Sept. 1884. These last expanded into Dublin Review as below.

Dublin Review, Jan., Apr., July, 1883 ; Oct. 1884.

Edmands, J.: Bibliography of the Dies Iræ. This is a large and elaborate fly-sheet, giving not only the above great authorities, but a list of very many, some even trifling, publications wherein any copy of the text or its versions is to be found: it is, however, of some years' date. Philadelphia, 1884.

TABLE I.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF VERSIONS.

A FEW words are necessary to introduce this first and principal Table, especially as the Versions themselves do not accompany it.

The date attached is that of the first publication, supposed, of course, to coincide, or nearly so, with that of the writing; where it has come to my knowledge that these dates differ, the version is placed under the latter, the former being noted in the middle column. Where I have received or discovered a version altogether dateless, it is placed at the end of that decade of years to which, at a rough guess, and on the best evidence that could be found, it has appeared to belong. The source mentioned is also that where first published: other references may be found under the title of each separate version.

All are in triplets where it is not otherwise stated, and the use of the words *iambic* and *trochaic* is confined to these versions; but there is no need of a separate column to shew the nature of the rhyme, since it is sufficiently indicated in the description of the metre; for it is, of course, clear that "trochaic 8s" and "iambic 9s" (of which there is a solitary instance) must have a double rhyme, and "trochaic 7s" and "iambic 8s" a single one.

As to the character of the version itself, a reader will be safe in assuming that one not in triplets is of a paraphrastic kind: the converse rule, that a version in triplets is a literal one, is not so universally true, but it may be considered as near enough to the truth for the purposes of a list like the present; and, indeed, in most cases, it is true at least for the greater part of each version.

I. BRITISH VERSIONS.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
1	1621	Joshua Sylvester : Divine Weekes of Dubartas	7.7.8.7.7.8.
2	1646	Father Richard Crashaw : Steps to the Temple	Couplets 8
3	1651	Patrick Carey : Trivial Poems and Triolets ..	Trochaic 7
4	1656	William Drummond [or Ben Jonson] : Post-humous Poems	Iambic 8
5	1657	Fathers A. Crowther, T. V. Sadler : Rosarists' Daily Exercises	Iambic 8
6	1677	Rev. Samuel Speed : Prison Pietie	8.8.10
7	1687	Father James Dymock : Sacrifice of the New Law	Trochaic 7
8	1694	Anon : Following of Christ	8.8.10
9	1696	Earl of Roscommon [or Dryden] : Miscellanea Sacra	Iambic 8
10	1754	Anon : Bona Mors	Couplets 10
11	1780	Anon : Office for the Dead	Iambic 8
12	1805	Sir Walter Scott ; Lay of the Last Minstrel ..	Couplets 8
13	1817	Anon : Orthodox Journal	Couplets 8
14	1819	"T.T.S." : Christian Observer, May : 10.10.10.8.10.10.10.10.12.	
15	1823	Father F. C. Canon Husenbeth ; [R.] Catholic Miscellany	8.8.6.8.8.6.
16	1823	Father George L. Haydock : Collection of [R.] Catholic Hymns	Quatrains 8
17	1825	Anon : Spiritual Repository ; rhymeless ..	Trochaic 8
18	1825	"O." : Christian Remembrancer, Apr. ..	Iambic 8
19	1826	Lord Macaulay : Christian Observer ..	Couplets 7
20	1831	William Hay : Bengal Annual	Couplets 7
21	1832	Rev. Canon Parkinson : Saturday Magazine, 22nd Sept.	Variable
22	1834	Rev. Isaac Williams : British Magazine, Jan.	Trochaic 7
23	1837	Rev. John Chandler : Primitive Hymns ..	Trochaic 8
24	1837	"C.F.R. of Fulneck " [Moravian] : Christian Observer, Jan.	Trochaic 8
25	1839	J. R. D. Beste : [R.] Catholic Hours ..	Trochaic 8
26	1839	Anon : [R.] Catholic Magazine	Iambic 8
27	1839	Daniel French : Selection of [R.] Catholic Hymns	Quatrains 8

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
28	1842	William Young : [R.] Catholic Choralist ..	Iambic 8
29	1844	Dean Alford : Psalms and Hymns	Trochaic 7
30	1844	Abp. Trench : Hymns for the Sick	Trochaic 7
31	1845	Father W. F. Wingfield : Prayers for the Dead	Iambic 8
32	1846	Father J. D. Aylward : Annus Sanctus, 1884	Iambic 8
33			Trochaic 7
34			Trochaic 7
35	1847	Lord Lindsay : History of Christian Art ..	Trochaic 7
36	1847	Father Howel W. Lloyd : Paradise of the Christian Soul	Trochaic 7
37	1847	Rev. W. J. Copeland : Dublin Review, Jan., 1883	Trochaic 7
38	1848	R. D. Williams : Manual for Sisters of Charity	6.6.6.5.6.6.5
39	1848	Rev. W. J. Irons : Pamphlet	Trochaic 8
40	1848	Rev. Edward Simms : Holy Thoughts and Prayers, ed. Dean Hook	Iambic 8
41	1849	Dean Disney : Irish Ecclesiastical Journal, May	Iambic 8
42	1849	Archdeacon Rowan : Do., June	Variable
43	1849	Father Edward Caswall : Lyra Catholica ..	Trochaic 7
44		Father Frederick Oakeley (fragment) ..	Iambic 6
45	1850	Rev. F. G. Lee : Poems	Trochaic 7
46	1851	Rev. A. T. Russell : Psalms and Hymns ..	Trochaic 8
47	1852	Rev. W. J. Blew : Church Hymn and Tune Book	Trochaic 8
48	1854	R. G. Loraine : Libretto to Mozart's Requiem	Trochaic 8
49	1856	Rev. J. A. Johnstone : English Hymnal ..	Trochaic 8
50	1856	James Blake : The Lamp, 1st Nov.	Iambic 8
51	1857	Rev. H. J. Buckoll (fragment) : Rugby Col- lection	Trochaic 8
52	1858	Elizabeth Charles : Voice of Christian Life in Song	Trochaic 7
53	1858	Rev. Canon Bright : Athanasius	Trochaic 7
54	1859	Rev. J. W. Hewett : Verses by a Country Curate	Trochaic 7
55	1859	"Gramma" : The Lamp, 26th Mar. ..	Iambic 8
56		C. L. Kenney : Libretto to Verdi's Requiem..	Trochaic 8

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
57	1860	Abp. Benson : Wellington College Hymn-book	Trochaic 8
58	1860	Mrs. F. J. Partridge : [R.] Catholic Hymnal	Trochaic 8
59	1860	P. S. Worsley : Blackwood's Magazine, May	Trochaic 8
60	1860	George Walker, D.D. (Presb.) : Hymns from the German	Quatrains 8
61	1862	W. H. Robinson : South London Chronicle, 26th May, 1866	Trochaic 7
62	1862	Rev. Herbert Kynaston (fragment) : Occasional Hymns	Trochaic 8
63	1863	William Sugden : Hymns of Methodist New Connexion	Trochaic 8
64	1864	C. B. Cayley : Church Times	Trochaic 8
65	1864	Anon : Friends' Magazine	Iambic 8
66	1865	Father Francis Trappes : Liturgical Hymns ; 3rd line rhymeless	Trochaic 8
67	1866	Rev. J. H. Sweet : The Beautiful Latin Hymn : 3rd version rhymeless	Iambic 8
68			Trochaic 8
69			Trochaic 8
70	1867	Rev. R. C. Singleton : Anglican Hymn Book..	Iambic 8
71	1867	J. W. Thomas : Poems	Trochaic 7
72	1868	Rev. J. H. H. Abrahall : Christian Remem- brancer, Jan.	Couplets 8
73	1868	Dean Stanley : Macmillan's Magazine, Dec. . .	Couplets 7
74	1868	R. H. Hutton : Spectator, 7th Mar.	Iambic 8
75	1871	Rev. E. H. Haskins : rhymeless	Trochaic 8
76	1874	Father John Wallace : Hymns of the [R.C.] Church	Trochaic 8
77	1874	Charles Kent : The Month, Nov.	Trochaic 8
78	1874	John O'Hagan : Irish Monthly, Mar.	Trochaic 8
79	1875	Anon : Messenger of Sacred Heart	Trochaic 7
80	1876	Hamilton Macgill, D.D. (Presb.) : Songs of Christian Creed	Trochaic 8
81	1876	William B. Robertson, D.D. (Presb.) : Presby- terian Hymnal	Trochaic 8
82	1878	Rev. Canon Macilwaine : Lyra Hibernica Sacra	Trochaic 7
83	1878	Osmund Seager : Oremus	Trochaic 7

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
84	1878	Rev. Charles Warren	Iambic 8
85	1878	Rev. C. F. S. Warren	Iambic 8
86	1879	Rev. W. Cowan: Poems	Trochaic 7
87		Rev. Orlando Dobbin	Iambic 8
88		Rev. Jackson Mason	Trochaic 8
89	1880	D. T. Morgan: Hymns of the Latin Church..	Iambic 8
90	1880	Father F. G. Maples: Messenger of Sacred Heart	Iambic 10
91	1881	Rev. E. W. L. Davies: Pamphlet	Iambic 8
92	1883	Father C. W. Hilton: Dublin Review, July..	Trochaic 8
93	1884	Father Henry Rawes: Fly-sheet: rhymeless..	Trochaic 8
94	1884	Rev. W. R. Worthington: Carmina Spiritualia	Trochaic 7
95	1886	Father F. G. Maples ("Σ.")	Trochaic 8
96	1888	John Maccarthy, [R.C.] Bp. of Cloyne ..	Iambic 8
97	1893	Edith Mary Shaw	Trochaic 7
98	1894	William Holloway	Variable
99	1895	Rosalie Vansittart	Iambic 8

To these must be added four variations of such an extensive nature as almost or quite to deserve the name of fresh versions: two upon Isaac Williams, one (American) on Dr. Irons, one on Mrs. Partridge. They are not included in the above list, but will be found in the collection of versions under the authors on whom they are founded, that is, under Nos. 22, 39, 58. Other minor variations, chiefly verbal, on the first two authors will also be found there: these, however, are mere specimens of what greater research, hardly worth the trouble, might probably discover.

2. AMERICAN VERSIONS.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
1	1841	Anon: New York Evangelist, 16th Oct. ..	Trochaic 8
2	1845	Andrew Dickinson: City of the Dead ..	8.8.8 8.8.8.
3	1845	John Williams, Bp. of Connecticut: Ancient Hymns of Holy Church	Unknown
4	1847	H. H. Brownell: Poems	Trochaic 7
5 } 6 }	1848	J. Newton Browne: Baptist Memorial, Oct..	{ 7.7.7.5. Trochaic 7
7		Catharine W. Bruce: privately printed 1890..	Iambic 8

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
8	1851	Margaret J. Preston: Presbyterian, 18th Jan., 1868	Trochaic 8
9	1851	Charles P. Krauth, Lutheran Observer, July	Trochaic 8
10	1851	William R. Williams: Miscellanies ..	Trochaic 8
11	1852	Epes Sargent: Literary World, 13th Nov...	Trochaic 8
12	1852	"Z.": Literary World, 11th Dec. ..	Trochaic 8
13	1852	W. G. Dix: Literary World, 11th Dec. ..	Iambic 8
14	{ 1855 }	Sylvanus D. Phelps: Sunlight and Hearthlight	{ Trochaic 8
15	{ 1891 }		{ Trochaic 8
16	1856	Henry Mills: Horæ Germanicæ	Trochaic 8
17	1859	"Somniator": Poems	Iambic 8
18	1859	Richard Furman: Pleasures of Piety ..	Unknown
19	1859	C. Z. Weiser: Guardian.. ..	Trochaic 8
20-25	{ 1859 }	{	{ Trochaic 8
26-30		{	{ Trochaic 7
31		{	{ Iambic 8
32		{ Abraham Coles	{ Couplets 8
33-35	1881	.. .. .	Trochaic 8
36	1889	.. .. .	Couplets 7
37	1889	.. .. .	Trochaic 8
38	1860	Robert Davidson: Elijah	Trochaic 8
39	1860	Charles Rockwell: Christian Intelligencer..	Trochaic 7
40	1860	John Murray: Knickerbocker, May ..	Variable
41	1861	Adolphe Perières	Trochaic 8
42	1863	John A. Dix: Evenings with Sacred Poets..	Trochaic 8
43	1863	George A. Crooke: Episcopal Recorder, 24th Jan.	Trochaic 8
44	1863	Crammond Kennedy: American Baptist, Apr.	Unknown
45	1864	Alexander Rogers: Lutheran	Trochaic 7
46	1864	James Ross: New York Observer ..	8.8.6.8 8.6
47	{ 1864 }	E. C. Benedict: Christian Intelligencer ..	{ Trochaic 8
48			{ Trochaic 8
49			{ Trochaic 7
50	1866	R. C. Winthrop: privately printed 1892 ..	Variable
51	1866	Marshall H. Bright: Round Table, 27th Oct.	Trochaic 8
52	1866	Edward Slosson: Seven Great Hymns ..	Trochaic 7

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
53	1866	Anon : Evening Post, 20th July	Iambic 8
54	1867	Anon : Living Age, 26th Jan.	Iambic 8
55	1867	C. M. Dodd : New York Observer, 28th Mar.	Trochaic 7
56	1867	B. Johnson	Unknown
57	1868	R. S. Tracy : Evening Post, Jan.	Trochaic 8
58	1868	Philip Schaff : Hours at Home, May ..	Trochaic 7
59	1869	Horace Castle : The University, Apr. ..	Trochaic 8
60	1869	Anon : Lippincott's Magazine, June ..	Trochaic 8
61	1869	Anon (fragment) : Lippincott's Magazine, June	Trochaic 8
62		Henry J. Macdonald	Iambic 8
63		Robert M'Corkle : Evening Post	Iambic 8
64		Oliver Taylor	Trochaic 8
65	1870	A. C. Kendrick : Our Poetical Favourites ..	Trochaic 8
66	1870	Anon : [R.] Catholic Manual	Iambic 8
67	1872	J. D. Van Buren : [R.] Catholic World, Apr.,	
	1881 .. ..	.. ..	Trochaic 8
68	1872	"Trinity" : Churchman, 9th Mar.	Variable
69	1873	C. A. Walworth : [R.] Catholic World, May ..	Trochaic 8
70	1874	C. H. A. Esling : [R.] Catholic World, Mar.	Trochaic 8
71			Trochaic 8
72	1876	John Anketell : American Church Review, July	Trochaic 7
73	1873	Church Journal	8.7.8.7.4.7
74	1869	S. W. Duffield : Amer. Presbyterian, 15th Apr.	Trochaic 8
75		S. W. Duffield : Christian Intelligencer ..	Unknown
76		S. W. Duffield : Christian Intelligencer ..	Trochaic 8
77	1876	S. W. Duffield : Christian Intelligencer, May	Trochaic 8
78		S. W. Duffield	Unknown
79	1880	S. W. Duffield : Christian Intelligencer, 19th Ap.	Iambic 8
80	1878	S. J. Watson : Belford's Magazine, May ..	Trochaic 8
81	1878	J. Howard West : Pennsylvania College Monthly	Iambic 9
82	1879	Oliver Crane : Christian Secretary, 6th Aug.	Unknown
83	1879	Nathaniel Smithers : Translations of Latin	Iambic 8
84		Hymns	Trochaic 7
85	1879	Joel Swartz ; Lutheran Observer, 22nd Aug.	Trochaic 8
86	1879	Joseph W. Winans	Unknown
87	1880	Randolph W. Lowrie : Churchman, 3rd Apr.	7.6.7.6.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
88	1880	D. Y. Heisler : Reformed Quarterly Review ..	Trochaic 8
89	1880	A. G. Palmer : Christian Secretary ..	Trochaic 8
90	1881	Charles Elliot : Standard, 24th Feb. ..	Iambic 8
91	1881	James Whitney : New York Observer, 19th May	Trochaic 8
92	1881	Matthias Sheeleigh : Lutheran Observer, 20th May	Trochaic 8
93	1881	Luther Sheeleigh : rhymeless ..	Unknown
94	1882	Joseph J. Marrin : [R.] Catholic World, Apr.	Iambic 8
95	1882	Henry Lea : Translations ..	Iambic 8
96	1882	Emily C. Pearson : Christian Secretary, 24th May	Trochaic 8
97	1882	Thomas Porter ; Guardian, Oct. ..	Trochaic 7
98	1883	Thomas Mackellar : Hymns and a few Psalms	Iambic 8
99	1891		Trochaic 8
100	1883	Elizabeth Cleveland : Independent, 12th Apr.	Trochaic 8
101	1884	Franklin Johnson	Trochaic 8
102	1884	George Davie : [R.] Catholic World, Nov. ..	Trochaic 7
103	1884	John Mason Brown : [R.] Catholic World, Nov.	Iambic 8
104	1884	S. V. White : Christian Cynosure ..	Trochaic 8
105	1886	Horace L. Hastings : Songs of Pilgrimage ..	Trochaic 8
106	1886	John Hayes ; Independent, 30th Dec. ..	Iambic 8
107	1886	John S. Hager : Overland Monthly ..	Trochaic 8
108	1886	Charles S. Stone : Libretto to Verdi's Requiem	Trochaic 7
109	1886	Edwin S. Hawley : Christian Standard, 9th Jan.	Iambic 8
110	1887	W. G. Mackenzie : The Beacon ..	Trochaic 8
111			Iambic 8
112	1887	G. W. Pierce (fragment) : Watchman, Jan.	Trochaic 5
113	1887	J. A. Chambliss	Boston Advertiser, 3rd May { Trochaic 8 Iambic 8 Trochaic 8 Trochaic 7
114	1887	Irene Sargent	
115	1887	" E.C.C."	
116	1887	" S."	

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Author, Source, etc.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>
117	1888	M. W. Stryker: Song of Miriam: Great Dirge	Trochaic 7
118	1888		Trochaic 8
119	1892		Trochaic 7
120	1892		Trochaic 7
121	1892		Trochaic 8
122	1889	A. H. Fahnestock: Presbyterian Journal, 22nd July	Trochaic 8
123		H. F. Fairbanks	Trochaic 7
124		H. A. Sawtelle	Trochaic 8
125		John D. Meeson	Unknown
126		"A. B. K."	Trochaic 7
127-135	1895	W. W. Nevin: Dies Iræ: Nine Original Versions	Variable

There should also be added an American variation, somewhat extensive, on Dr. Irons, which is not included in the above list, but will be found in the British collection, under his number, 39.

TABLE II.

OF METRES.

British. American.

TRIPLETS:

Trochaic eights:

Rhyming	..	..	..	25	..	59
Two rhymes	..	..	..	1	..	—
Rhymeless	..	..	..	4	..	—
Irregular	..	..	..	—	..	1
Trochaic sevens	..	..	..	23	..	24
Trochaic fives	..	..	..	—	..	1
Iambic tens	..	..	..	1	..	—
Iambic nines	..	..	..	—	..	1
Iambic eights	..	..	..	24	..	20
Iambic sixes	..	..	..	1	..	—
Iambic 8.8.10	..	..	..	2	..	—
Variable ..	..	..	..	3	..	12

COUPLETS:

Trochaic eights	..	..	..	1	..	—
Trochaic sevens	..	..	..	3	..	1
Iambic tens	..	..	..	1	..	—
Iambic eights	..	..	..	3	..	1

QUATRAINS OF EIGHTS..

3 .. —

PECULIAR MEASURE:

10.10.10.8.10.10.10.10.12	..	..	..	1	..	—
8.8.8.8.8	..	..	..	—	..	1
8.8.6.8.8.6	..	..	..	1	..	1
8.7.8.7.4.7	..	..	..	—	..	1
7.7.8.7.7.8	..	..	..	1	..	—
7.7.7.5.7.7.7.5	..	..	..	—	..	1
7.6.7.6	..	..	..	—	..	1
6.6.6.5.6.6.6.5	..	..	..	1	..	—

UNKNOWN..

— .. 10

99 135

GRAND TOTAL ..

234

TABLE III.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF TRANSLATORS.

A = AMERICAN.

	No.
Abrahall, Rev. J. Hoskyns: d.	72
Alford, Hy., Dean of Canterbury: d. 1871	29
Anketell, J.	71-73 A
Anon., "A. B. K."	126 A
Anon., "Bona Mors"	10
Anon., "[R.] Catholic Magazine"	26
Anon., "[R.] Catholic Manual"	66 A
Anon., "C. F. R. of Fulneck"	24
Anon., "Churchman"	68 A
Anon., "E. C. C."	115 A
Anon., "Evening Post"	53 A
Anon., "Following of Christ"	8
Anon., "Friends' Magazine"	65
Anon., "Gramma"	55
Anon., "Hours at Home"	64 A
Anon., "Lippincott's Magazine"	60, 61 A
Anon., "Living Age"	54 A
Anon., "New York Evangelist"	1 A
Anon., "O."	18
Anon., "Office for Dead"	11
Anon., "Orthodox Journal"	13
Anon., "Sacred Heart"	79
Anon., "Somniator"	17 A
Anon., "Spiritual Repository"	17
Anon., "S."	116 A

Anon., "T. T. S."	14	
Anon., "Z."		12 A
Aylward, Fr. J. D.: d. 1872	32-34	
Benedict, Erastus: d. 1878		47-49 A
Benson, E. W., Abp. of Canterbury: d. 1896	57	
Beste, J. D.: d. 1885	25	
Blake, James	50	
Blew, Rev. W. J.: d.	47	
Bright, M. H.		51 A
Bright, W., Canon of Canterbury	53	
Brown, J. Mason		103 A
Browne, J. Newton		5, 6 A
Brownell, Hy. Howard		4 A
Buckoll, Rev. Hy.	51	
Carey, Patrick: d. 1652	3	
Castle, Horace		59 A
Caswall, Fr. Edward; d. 1878	43	
Cayley, C. Bagot: d. 1883	64	
Chambliss, J. A.		113 A
Chandler, Rev. John; d. 1876	23	
Charles, Elizabeth: d.	52	
Cleveland, Elizabeth		100 A
Coles, Abraham, M.D.: d. 1891		20-37 A
Copeland, Rev. W. J.: d. 1885	37	
Crane, Oliver		82 A
Crashaw, Richard: d. 1649	2	
Crooke, George A.		43 A
Crowther, Fr. Anselm	5	
Davidson, Robert		38 A
Davie, George		102 A
Davies, Rev. E. W. L.: d.	91	
Dickinson, Andrew		2 A
Disney, B. W., Dean of Armagh: d. 1874	41	
Dix, J. A.		42 A
Dix, W. G.		13 A
Dobbin, Rev. Orlando, LL.D.: d.	87	
Dodd, C. M.		55 A

					No.
Drummond, Wm.: d. 1649 ..	..	..	..	..	4
Duffield, Samuel: d. 1887 ..	..	..	..	..	74-79 A
Dymock, Fr. James ..	..	..	..	..	7
Elliot, Charles ..	..	..	..	..	90 A
Esling, C. H. A. ..	..	..	..	..	70 A
Fahnestock, Alfred ..	..	..	..	..	122 A
Fairbanks, H. F. ..	..	..	..	..	123 A
French, Daniel ..	..	..	..	..	27
Furman, Richard ..	..	..	..	..	18 A
Hager, John S. ..	..	..	..	..	107 A
Haskins, Rev. E. H. ..	..	..	..	..	75
Hastings, Horace L. ..	..	..	..	..	105 A
Hawley, Edwin S. ..	..	..	..	..	109 A
Hay, William ..	..	..	..	..	20
Haydock, Fr. George L. ..	..	..	..	..	16
Hayes, John ..	..	..	..	..	106 A
Heisler, D. Y. ..	..	..	..	..	88 A
Hewett, Rev. J. W.: d. 1886 ..	..	..	..	..	54
Hilton, Fr. C. W. ..	..	..	..	..	92
Holloway, Wm. ..	..	..	..	..	98
Husenbeth, Fr. F. C.: d. ..	..	..	..	..	15
Hutton, Rd. H. ..	..	..	..	..	74
Irons, Rev. W. J., D.D.: d. 1883 ..	..	..	..	..	39
Johnson, Benjamin ..	..	..	..	..	56 A
Johnson, Franklin, D.D. ..	..	..	..	..	101 A
Johnstone, Rev. J. A.: d. 1872 ..	..	..	..	..	49
Kendrick, A. C. ..	..	..	..	..	65 A
Kennedy, Crammond ..	..	..	..	..	44 A
Kenney, C. L. ..	..	..	..	..	56
Kent, C. A. ..	..	..	..	..	77
Krauth, C. P.: d. 1883 ..	..	..	..	..	9 A
Kynaston, Rev. H. A., D.D.: d. 1878 ..	..	..	..	..	62
Lea, Henry ..	..	..	..	..	95 A
Lee, Rev. Fred. George, D.D. ..	..	..	..	..	45
Lindsay, Lord [E. of Crawford]: d. 1880 ..	..	..	..	..	35
Lloyd, Fr. H. W. ..	..	..	..	..	36
Loraine, R. G. ..	..	..	..	..	48

Lowrie, R. W.	..	..	..	..	87 A
Macaulay, Lord : d. 1859	..	..	..	19	
Maccarthy, John [R.C.] Bp. of Cloyne	..	..	..	96	
M'Corkle, Robert	..	..	..	63 A	
Macdonald, Hy. J.	..	..	..	62 A	
Macgill, Hamilton, D.D.	..	..	..	80	
Macilwaine, Wm., Canon of St. Patrick's : d. 1885	..	..	..	82	
Mackellar, Thomas	..	..	..	98, 99 A	
Mackenzie, W. G., D.D.	..	..	..	110, 111 A	
Maples, Fr. F. G.	..	..	..	90, 95	
Marrin, Joseph	..	..	..	94 A	
Mason, Rev. Jackson : d. 1888	..	..	..	88	
Meeson, John D.	..	..	..	125 A	
Mills, Hy., D.D.	..	..	..	16 A	
Morgan, D. T.	..	..	..	89	
Murray, John	..	..	..	40 A	
Nevin, W. P.	..	..	..	127-135 A	
Oakeley, Fr. F. : d. 1880	..	..	..	44	
O'Hagan, Mr. Justice John : d.	..	..	..	78	
Parkinson, Rd., Canon of Manchester : d. 1858	..	..	..	21	
Partridge, Mrs. F. J.	..	..	..	58	
Pearson, Emily	..	..	..	96 A	
Periès, Adolphe	..	..	..	41 A	
Phelps, Sylvanus D.	..	..	..	14, 15 A	
Pierce, George W...	..	..	..	112 A	
Porter, Thomas	..	..	..	97 A	
Preston, Margaret J.	..	..	..	8 A	
Rawes, Fr. H. : d. 1885	..	..	..	93	
Robertson, William B., D.D.	..	..	..	81	
Robinson, Wm. H.	..	..	..	61	
Rockwell, Charles	..	..	..	39 A	
Rogers, Alexander	..	..	..	45 A	
Roscommon, E. of : d. 1684..	..	..	..	9	
Ross, James H.	..	..	..	46 A	
Rowan, A. B., Archdn. of Ardfert ; d. 1861	..	..	..	42	
Russell, Rev. A. T. : d.	..	..	..	46	
Sargent, Epes	..	..	..	11 A	

Sargent, Irene	114 A
Sawtelle, H. A.	124 A
Schaff, Philip, D.D. : d.	58 A
Scott, Sir Walter, Bt. : d. 1832	12
Seager, Osmond	83
Shaw, Edith Mary	97
Sheeleigh, Luther	93 A
Sheeleigh, Matthias	92 A
Simms, Rev. Edward	40
Singleton, Rev. R. C. : d.	70
Slosson, Edw.	52 A
Smithers, Nathaniel	83, 84 A
Speed, Rev. Samuel	6
Stanley, A. P., Dean of Westminster : d. 1881	73
Stone, Charles W.	108 A
Stryker, M. Woolsey, D.D.	117-121 A
Sugden, Wm.	63
Swartz, Joel, D.D.	85 A
Sweet, Rev. J. H.	67-69
Sylvester, Joshua : d. 1618	1
Taylor, Oliver	64 A
Thomas, John Wesley	71
Tracy, Roger S.	57 A
Trappes, Fr. Francis	66
Trench, R. C., Abp. of Dublin : d. 1886	30
Van Buren, J. D.	67 A
Vansittart, Rosalie [Mrs. Charles V.]	99
Wallace, Fr. John	76
Walworth, Fr. C. A.	69 A
Warren, Rev. C. : d. 1883	84
Warren, Rev. C. F. S.	85
Watson, S. J.	80 A
Weiser, C. Z.	19 A
West, J. Howard	81 A
White, S. V.	104 A
Whitney, James	91 A
Williams, Rev. Isaac : d. 1865	22

Williams, John, Bp. of Connecticut ..	..	..	3 A
Williams, R. D. : d. ..	..	38	
Williams, W. R., D.D. ..	..	10 A	
Winans, Joseph W. ..	..	86 A	
Wingfield, Fr. W. F. : d. ..	..	31	
Winthrop, R. C. ..	..	50 A	
Worsley, P. S. : d. ..	..	59	
Worthington, Rev. W. R. ..	..	94	
Young, William ..	..	28	

TABLE IV.

RELIGIOUS PERSUASION.

THIS is, of course, not in all cases known to me ; from such information as I have I deduce as follows—

I.—ENGLISH.

Catholic.

Roman.		Anglican.	
Bishops	1	Bishops [Abps.]	2
Priests (4 once Anglican)	14	Priests { Dignified : 3 deans, 1 archdeacon, 2 canons : 6 Not dignified : 26 }	32
Monks	2		
Laics	8		
Anon.	4		
	29		34

63

Protestant Dissenters :	
2 Presbyterians, a Moravian,	5
a Methodist, and a Quaker	
Ladies, 2 Roman, 2 Anglican	4

72

Of the remaining writers, about twenty in number, the majority may be safely classed as Anglican laics.

II.—AMERICAN.

Here my information is very deficient indeed. I find 5 ladies with no religious particulars, and further, only this—

Roman Catholics	7, among whom 1 priest
Anglican do.	6, among whom 2 priests and a Bishop
Baptists	11
Presbyterians	8
Lutherans	6
Independents	3
German Refd.	3
Dutch Refd.	1

44

Of these numerous Dissenters some, of course, are Ministers, but of the number no accurate account can be given.

TABLE V.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF VERSIONS.

A = AMERICAN.

	<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
A day full of horror must	Carey	3
A day of wrath a dreadful day ..	Simms	40
A day of wrath and woe that day ..	Anon	53 A
A day of wrath that day ah me ..	Mrs. Vansittart	99
A day of wrath that day shall glow ..	Warren C.	84
A day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Anon	8
A day of wrath will be that day ..	Davies	91
Ah come it will that dreadful day ..	Speed	6
Ah silly soul what wilt thou say ..	Drummond	4
Ah that day of wrath and woe ..	Bright, W.	53
Ashes on that awful morning ..	Duffield 3	76 A
At last shall come that dreadful day ..	Haydock	16
Awful doomsday day of anger ..	Anon	17
Cometh the day that day of ire ..	Dobbin	87
Dawns the day the day of dread ..	Anon	79
Day foretold that day of ire ..	Coles 9	28 A
Day of anger all arresting ..	Robertson	81
Day of anger day august ..	Stryker 4	120 A
Day of anger day of mourning ..	Beste	25
Day of anger day of sighing ..	Castle	59 A
Day of anger day of trouble ..	Kenney	56
Day of anger day of wonder ..	Worsley	59
Day of anger dreadful day ..	Thomas	71
Day of anger how that day ..	Worthington	94

		<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Day of anger lurid breaking ..	..	Whitney	91 A
Day of anger sinners dooming ..	..	Macgill	80
Day of anger that dread day ..	..	Alford	29
Day of anger that dread day ..	..	Cowan	86
Day of anger that great day ..	..	Hewett	54
Day of audit and decision ..	..	Coles 14	33 A
Day of awful wrath great day when	..	Sweet 3	69
Day of doom O day of terror ..	..	Walworth	69 A
Day of doom that day of ire ..	..	Copeland	37
Day of doom the last and greatest ..	..	Benson	57
Day of fiery wrath unsparing ..	..	Coles 15	34 A
Day of fury when earth dying ..	..	Kent	77
Day of ire that day impending ..	..	Sargent	11 A
Day of ire woe worth that day ..	..	Macilwaine	82
Day of judgement day appalling ..	..	Kynaston	62
Day of judgement day of ire ..	..	Hay	20
Day of judgement day of urning ..	..	Weiser	19 A
Day of judgement day supernal ..	..	Anon	61 A
Day of prophecy it flashes..	..	Coles 4	23 A
Day of terrible requital ..	..	Anon	60 A
Day of the Lord's avenging ire ..	..	Disney	41
Day of threatened wrath from heaven	..	Benedict 1	47 A
Day of vengeance and of burning ..	..	Heisler	88 A
Day of vengeance and of wages ..	..	Coles 3	22 A
Day of vengeance day of burning ..	..	Loraine	48
Day of vengeance day of fire ..	..	Davie	102 A
Day of vengeance day of sorrow ..	..	Blew	47
Day of vengeance end of scorning ..	..	Coles 5	24 A
Day of vengeance lo that morning ..	..	Dix, J. A.	42 A
Day of wrath and awful glory ..	..	Phelps 2	15 A
Day of wrath and bitter crying ..	..	Miss Pearson	96 A
Day of wrath and consternation ..	..	Mackenzie 1	110 A
Day of wrath and consternation ..	..	Coles 6	25 A
Day of wrath and day of ire ..	..	Anon	13
Day of wrath and doom of fire ..	..	Lindsay	35
Day of wrath and dread that day ..	..	Mrs. Shaw	97
Day of wrath and tribulation ..	..	Abrahall	72

	<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Day of wrath and tribulation ..	Haskins	75
Day of wrath behold that day ..	Stone	108 A
Day of wrath beneath whose thunder ..	Rowan	42
Day of wrath day long expected ..	Tracy	57 A
Day of wrath great day displaying ..	Mason	88
Day of wrath great day impending ..	Chambliss	113 A
Day of wrath O day appalling ..	White	104 A
Day of wrath O day of blaming ..	Watson	80 A
Day of wrath O day of burning ..	Hastings	105 A
Day of wrath O day of days ..	Robinson	61
Day of wrath O day of mourning ..	Irons	39
Day of wrath O direful day ..	Rockwell	39 A
Day of wrath O dreadful day ..	Stanley	73
Day of wrath of days that day ..	Slosson	52 A
Day of wrath on which earth's framing ..	Hilton	92
Day of wrath portentous morning ..	Krauth	9 A
Day of wrath terrific morning ..	Van Buren	67 A
Day of wrath that awful day ..	Anketell 2	72 A
Day of wrath that awful day ..	Brownell	4 A
Day of wrath that awful day ..	Porter	97 A
Day of wrath that awful day ..	Williams, I.	22
Day of wrath that day amazing ..	Coles 18	37 A
Day of wrath that day appalling ..	Sawtelle	124 A
Day of wrath that day appalling ..	Anon	12 A
Day of wrath that day appalling ..	Phelps 1	14 A
Day of wrath that day dismaying ..	Coles 16	35 A
Day of wrath that day dismaying ..	Johnstone	49
Day of wrath that day dismaying ..	Williams, W. R.	10 A
Day of wrath that day foretold ..	Schaff	58 A
Day of wrath that day foretold ..	Dodd	55 A
Day of wrath that day impending ..	Stryker 2	118 A
Day of wrath that day impending ..	Anon	115 A
Day of wrath that day is hasting ..	Davidson	38 A
Day of wrath that day of burning ..	Bright, M. H.	51 A
Day of wrath that day of burning ..	Coles 1	20 A
Day of wrath that day of burning ..	Johnson, F.	101 A
Day of wrath that day of crying ..	Stryker 5	121 A

	<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Day of wrath that day of days ..	Winthrop	50 A
Day of wrath that day of days ..	Coles 7	26 A
Day of wrath that day of dole ..	Coles 11	30 A
Day of wrath that day of doom ..	Coles 17	36 A
Day of wrath that day of dooming ..	Fahnestock	122 A
Day of wrath that day of mourning ..	Kendrick	65 A
Day of wrath that day of mourning ..	Maples 2	95
Day of wrath that day of wailing ..	Nevin 3	129 A
Day of wrath that day of woe ..	Smithers 2	84 A
Day of wrath that day of woe ..	Aylward 3	34
Day of wrath that day of woe ..	Smithers 1	83 A
Day of wrath that day of wonder ..	Crooke	43 A
Day of wrath that day undying ..	Anketell 1	71 A
Day of wrath that day when burning ..	Hager	107 A
Day of wrath that day whose flame ..	Browne 2	6 A
Day of wrath that day whose knelling ..	O'Hagan	78
Day of wrath that doleful day ..	Nevin 6	132 A
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Dymock	7
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Lee	45
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Lloyd	36
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Fairbanks	123 A
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Swartz	85 A
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Murray	40 A
Day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Anon	126 A
Day of wrath that final day ..	Benedict 3	49 A
Day of wrath that lurid morning ..	Palmer	89 A
Day of wrath that mighty day ..	Stryker 3	119 A
Day of wrath the day that endeth ..	Mackellar 2	99 A
Day of wrath the day when burning ..	Anon	68 A
Day of wrath the heart dismaying ..	Mrs. Partridge	58
Day of wrath the sinner dooming ..	Mills	16 A
Day of wrath the world illuming ..	Nevin 4	130 A
Day of wrath thine awful morning ..	Duffield 1	74 A
Day of wrath thou day of thunder ..	Buckoll	51
Day of wrath thy fiery morning ..	Duffield 4	77 A
Day of wrath upon whose dawning ..	Sweet 2	68
Day of wrath when hearts shall fail ..	Nevin 5	131 A

	<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Day of wrath whose blaze sublime ..	.. Browne 1	5 A
Day of wrath whose vengeful fire ..	.. Esling	70 A
Day of wrath with vengeance glowing ..	.. Benedict 2	48 A
Day shall dawn that has no morrow ..	.. Coles 2	21 A
Day the ireful day affrighting ..	.. Sheeleigh, M.	92 A
Dear dear soul awake .. ..	.. Sylvester	1
Great day of wrath of days the day ..	.. Sweet 1	67
Hearst thou my soul what serious things ..	.. Crashaw	2
Judgement comes that day of mourning ..	.. Anon	1 A
Lo it comes with stealthy feet ..	.. Coles 10	29 A
Lo the day of wrath awaketh ..	.. Russell	46
Lo the day of wrath that day ..	.. Seager	83
Lo the day of wrath the day ..	.. Mrs. Charles	52
Lo the day that day of ire ..	.. Taylor	64 A
Lo the day the day of dooming ..	.. Trappes	66
Nigher still and still more nigh ..	.. Caswall	43
O day of anger awful day ..	.. Anon	18
O day of days of anger ..	.. Lowrie	87 A
O day of prophecy appalling ..	.. Nevin 1	127 A
O day of weeping and of wailing ..	.. Nevin 2	128 A
O day of wrath and dread surprise ..	.. French	27
O day of wrath for vengeance made ..	.. Blake	50
O day of wrath in that dread day ..	.. Anon	54 A
O day of wrath O day foretold ..	.. Lea	95 A
O day of wrath O day of fate ..	.. Coles 12	31 A
O day of wrath that awful day ..	.. Singleton	70
O day of wrath that awful day ..	.. Nevin 9	135 A
O day of wrath that dreadful day ..	.. Parkinson	21
O day of wrath that dreadful day ..	.. Nevin 7	133 A
O day of wrath that dread last day ..	.. Nevin 8	134 A
O day of wrath the last great dreadful day ..	.. Maples 1	90
One great day one wrathful day ..	.. Anon	116 A
On that great and awful day ..	.. Macaulay	19
O that day of wrath and woe ..	.. Rogers	45 A
O that day of wrath dismaying ..	.. Chandler	23
O that day that day of burning ..	.. Miss Cleveland	*100 A
O that day that day of ire ..	.. Mrs. Preston	8 A

	<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
O that day that day of ire	Trench	30
O that day that day of wrath	Stryker 1	117 A
O that day the day of vengeance	Rawes	93
O that dreadful day my soul	Coles 8	27 A
O the day that day of anguish	Wallace	76
See it dawns that day of burning	Anketell 3	73 A
Stern day of wrath to every nation	West	81 A
That day a day of wrath shall glow	Warren C. F. S.	85
That day of doom and dread amaze	Hayes	106 A
That day of ire that dreadful day	Elliot	90 A
That day of wrath and grief and shame	Aylward 1	32
That day of wrath of God's dread ire	Brown	103 A
That day of wrath that day of doom	Ross	46 A
That day of wrath that direful day	Anon	66 A
That day of wrath that direful day	Miss Bruce	7 A
That day of wrath that dreadful day	Crowther	5
That day of wrath that dreadful day	Scott	12
That day of wrath that dreadful day	Wingfield	31
That day of wrath tremendous day	Dickinson	2 A
That day of wrath upon that day	Dix, W. G.	13 A
That day of wrath whose heated throe	Duffield 6	79 A
That day that awful day the last	Coles 13	32 A
That dread day of indignation	Sugden	63
That dread day of wrath and shame	Aylward 2	33
The day comes of indignation	Cayley	64
The day of anger ah that day	Macdonald	62 A
The day of wrath ah me the day	M'Corkle	63 A
The day of wrath that awful day	Anon	65
The day of wrath that certain day	Mackellar 1	98 A
The day of wrath that day	Oakeley	44
The day of wrath that day draws near	Mackenzie 2	111 A
The day of wrath that day of dread	Anon	55
The day of wrath that day of gloom	Maccarthy	96
The day of wrath that day that day	Hawley	109 A
The day of wrath that doom-deciding day	Anon	10
The day of wrath that dreadful day	Anon	11
The day of wrath that dreadful day	Morgan	89

	<i>Author.</i>	<i>No.</i>
The day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Roscommon	9
The day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Young	28
The day of wrath that dreadful day ..	Holloway	98
The day of wrath that great and awful day ..	Anon	14
The day of wrath that haunting day ..	Hutton	74
The day of wrath that last dread day ..	Anon	26
The dreadful day the day of ire ..	Husenbeth	15
The judgement day that day of dread ..	Marrin	94 A
The Sibyl's leaf the Psalmist's lay ..	Anon	17 A
There comes a day a dreadful day ..	Walker	60
Upon that day so dread to name ..	Miss Sargent	114 A
Woe is the day of ire	Williams, R. D.	38
Wrath and righteous retribution ..	Anon	24

On this alphabetical list there are 222 first lines, 99 B., 123 A. Adding 12 American versions of which I have not the first line (Nos. 3, 18, 41, 44, 56, 75, 78, 82, 86, 93, 112, 125) the total is 234, of which 99 are British, 135 American.

THE EVE OF THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.

WHEN He comes Who died on Tree
Signs and wonders there shall be
In the earth and air and sea,
Horror and perplexity
On the quick and dead.

Darkness o'er the earth shall spread,
Earth shall reel beneath the tread,
Strange amazement overhead,
Round them shall be fear and dread
As a troubled dream.

All shall strange and altered seem,
As from some unwonted gleam
Plain or mountain, marsh or stream
Other shew than we did deem
Mid the mist and rain.

Forms the eye may not retain
Shall be seen and lost again,
Sounds be heard of broken strain
Frequent on the shaded plain
Or the lonely way.

Near when draws that wrathful day
 Nature's bonds shall all decay ;
 Stone from stone shall drop away,
 Wood from wood and clay from clay,
 Nought be constant there.

Ships that mid the waters fare
 Sink though smooth the waves and fair,
 Birds shall fall through yielding air,
 Earth the tread refuse to bear
 And asunder start.

Wearied all, amazed, apart
 Shall remain with speechless smart,
 Failing eyes and sickening heart,
 Longing till the shadows part
 And the darkness hie.

They for death aloud shall cry,
 But before them death shall fly ;
 Ever present to their eye
 Yet their prayer shall he deny,
 Mocking at their moan.

Rock and water, wood and stone,
 With a lamentable groan,
 Him Who sits upon the Throne
 Call to haste and take His own
 And no more delay.

Yet ere dawn the eternal day
 Such long night must wear away ;
 If before it such dismay,
 What shall be that very Day,
 What that Judgement be ?

W. G. PALGRAVE, 1844.

It may be noted here that James Montgomery wrote, from the converse point of view, a poem called "The Day *after* Judgement": "Christian Psalmist," No. 519. It is an average specimen of Montgomery's writing, but inferior to the above most striking lines.

The Dies Iræ.



THE authorship of this Hymn, Prose, or Sequence (for all these names may be and have been used for it according as it is considered generally or in regard to its liturgical use), though not absolutely certain, is given by all or nearly all modern hymnologists to Thomas of Celano, one of the earliest monks of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi.

Celano (the ancient Cliturnum) is a little town lying on the lake of Fucino in the Abruzzo Ulteriore of Italy, about sixty miles east of Rome. Here was born, and hence took his name, this Thomas in the latter years of the twelfth century; but nothing whatever is known of him except in his relation to St. Francis and his Order—not even how he was first brought into contact with the Saint. The Order was founded in 1208, and Thomas was one of its first members—that is all. But he was a prominent member, and in great and constant intimacy with the founder; and when the Saint died, 4th October, 1226, it was he who wrote his life, and two proper Sequences for his Festival; since he was canonized within four years after his death.

Both before and after the Saint's death, Thomas had been Superior of Convents of the Order at Cologne, Mayence, Spire, and Worms, and himself died, after having returned to Italy, in or about 1255. All his literary works are his

Life of St. Francis, which is one of the three early ones printed in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, and there called the *Legenda Antiqua*: his two Franciscan Sequences, and his third and far greater one, the *Dies Iræ*, with which the two others cannot for a moment be compared. Still, however, a few words may be said about them, though it is not intended to print them here at length. They are both, with the *Dies Iræ*, found in the *Index Sequentiarum* of Joachim Brander of St. Gall, 1507; but after that the first—

“Fregit victor virtualis
Hic Franciscus triumphalis
Crucis adversarium”—

appears to have taken the lead; it is found in Paris Missals of 1520, 1525, 1555; while the other—

“Sanctitatis nova signa
Prodierunt laude digna
Mira valde et benigna
In Francisco credita”—

remained in MS. till it was printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Later, they quite escaped the notice of writers: thus even Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscan, stated that they were lost as early as 1650, in his *Annales Minorum*: and later still, Archbishop Trench said the same in the first edition of his *Sacred Latin Poetry*, 1849. The former of the two was first brought back to notice by Mr. Neale, who took it from a Franciscan Book of Hours in the National Library at Lisbon, and published it in the *Ecclesiologist* for August, 1853, from which it was copied into the [R.C.] *Rambler* for December: and in 1856 both were printed by Daniel in the *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, v. 314, 317. As has been said,

they are far, very far, below the Dies Iræ, though of the former Archbishop Trench in his later editions speaks somewhat highly. His judgment is no mean one, but I doubt if many would here agree with it.

Now turn we to the Dies Iræ, our proper subject.

The first mention of it as yet known is in 1385, in a work on the life of St. Francis by Bartholomew Albizzi, a Franciscan of Pisa, called the *Liber Conformitatum* : these being the resemblances of the Saint to his Divine Master ; the conformities by stigmatization and otherwise summed up by Myers in the Translation of Faith—

“ O mate of poverty, O pearl unpriced,
O co-espoused, co-transförate with Christ ! ”

In this book, for a notice of which see Robertson's Church History, vi. 118, the Dies Iræ is ascribed, though not quite positively, to Thomas of Celano : and evidence, at any rate of Franciscan authorship, is deduced from the fact that it is spoken lightly of, called an *inconditus rhythmus*, an uncouth poem, by Sixtus Senensis, one of the great rival Order of Dominicans, in his *Bibliotheca Sancta* in 1566. I do not know that this is any great evidence, for the same expression has been used by men who cared not whether a Dominican or a Franciscan wrote the Hymn : and it may be a stronger point that in 1576 the Dominican Order at Salamanca resolved that the Hymn should no longer be used as a Sequence. Luke Wadding, already mentioned, follows Albizzi on the authorship, and their authority may probably be taken, as it indeed has been taken, on the subject. This evidence by itself would not be altogether convincing, but there is much negative evidence besides, consisting in disproof of the claims of others. For, as with all writings

(from the Epistle to the Hebrews downwards) whose authorship is not demonstrably certain, other claims there are, or rather have been. There are, in fact, no fewer than ten names which have been mentioned :—

1. St. Gregory the Great, d. 604.
2. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, d. 1153. These are mentioned by a Benedictine named Arnold Wein in his *Lignum Vitæ, Ornamentum et Decus Ecclesiæ*, 1595 : but they are probably of too early date for the structure and metre of the poem.
3. St. Bonaventura, d. 1274.
4. Cardinal Matthew Aquasparta, Bishop of Albano, d. 1302 : these two are mentioned by Wadding : but as to the former a confusion has probably arisen from his having written, as well as Thomas of Celano, a life of St. Francis : and for the Bishop there is no other evidence whatever.
5. Cardinal Lothaire di Segni, afterwards Pope Innocent III., d. 1216.
6. Thurston, Archbishop of York, d. 1140.
7. Cardinal Latino Orsini, or Frangipani, a nephew of Pope Nicolas III., and a Dominican, who d. 1296, is named by Pope Benedict XIV. in his *De Sacrificio Missæ*, about 1740-50. But the *Dies Iræ* is decidedly Franciscan.
8. Humbert, a General of the Dominicans, d. 1277.
9. Agostino Biella, an Augustinian, d. 1491. These are given by Antonio Possevini, a Jesuit, in his *Apparatus Sacer*, 1603, but the last objection applies to the former, and the latter is far too late.
10. Felix Hammerlein, d. 1457, the Zurich priest afterwards mentioned, is put forward by his biographer : he also is far too late.

The Hymn, then, may be finally attributed to Thomas of Celano ; and, as far as I know, but one modern writer has

thought otherwise; this was Wachler, in his *Handbuch der Geschichte der Litteratur Theologischen*, who upheld the claim of Cardinal Frangipani, No. 7 above.

The use of the Hymn has always been in Offices and Masses for the Dead, whether general, as on All Souls' Day, or special: and the high honour in which it has been held is shown by its escaping revision under Urban VIII. in the sixteenth century, when so many hymns were greatly damaged. As a Prose for the Dead it is mentioned by Bartholomew Albizzi, and as a Sequence for the same it is entitled in the first actual text known, that in a MS. Dominican Missal of the end of the fourteenth century in the Bodleian Library. It is curious, but of no real evidence against the Franciscan authorship, that this Missal should be Dominican: but it is worth notice that it seems to have been intended for use at Pisa, the native place of Albizzi, the first to mention the Hymn. The first printed Missal which contains it is a Lubeck one of 1480: after that it occurs in several French and Italian Missals, and in England as a "*Prosa pro Defunctis qui voluerit*," in some, but not all, editions of the Sarum Missal. But it is not of universal occurrence till the Council of Trent inserted it in the Mass in Commemoration of all Faithful Dead, where it forms the Sequence sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. This text, taken actually from a modern Roman Missal, 8vo, Dublin, 1822, is now given.

1. Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvat sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.
2. Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando Iudex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

3. Tuba mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulcra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum.
4. Mors stupebit, et Natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.
5. Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.
6. Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit:
Nil inultum remanebit.
7. Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?
8. Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.
9. Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuæ viæ:
Ne me perdas illâ die.
10. Quærens me, sedisti lassus:
Redemisti, crucem passus:
Tantus labor non sit cassus!
11. Juste Judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis,
Ante diem rationis.
12. Ingemisco, tanquam reus:
Culpâ rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus.

13. Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.
14. Preces meæ non sunt dignæ;
Sed Tu, bonus, fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne.
15. Inter oves locum præsta,
Et ab hædis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.
16. Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis,
Voca me, cum benedictis.
17. Oro, supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis.
18. Lacrymosa dies illa,
Quâ resurget ex favillâ
Judicandus homo reus;
Huic ergo parce, Deus:
Pie Jesu, Domine,
Dona eis Requiem.

With this correspond the texts of the Pisa MS. and the Sarum Missal (Burntisland reprint, col. 884*), except in these unimportant particulars:

PISA.	SARUM.
iii. 1. spargit for spargens.	
iv. 2. Dum for cum.	iv. 2. Dum for cum.
	xix. 2. bone for bonus.

By this Missal-text some authority may be said to be

given to the last stanza of couplets followed by the Requiem ; for Roman Catholic editors it is of course the authorized version ; and, indeed, many Anglicans and others attach it ; but the best hymnologists consider that it can hardly form part of the original composition, though possibly the author himself may have added it at a later time. It is found, as also are other detached lines, at a much earlier date than 1385 ; see a Psalterium de Nomine Jesu in Mone's Hymnen des Mittelalters, i. 343 ; and the fact that other endings, though manifestly spurious, are found, shews that it cannot have been universally accepted. Thus a Brandenburg Missal adds :—

" Ne gehennæ ignis lædat
Tuum plasma, sed te edat,
Digne semper in te credat."

And a MS. at Vienna :—

" Ne me perdas sed regnare
Fac cum tuis, Jesu care,
Et in cœlis gloriare."

There are also two other texts of the Hymn known as the Mantuan Text and the Hammerlein Text : the former lengthening the Missal Text by the addition of certain stanzas at the beginning, the latter having a similar addition at the end. They are now given, with references and various readings, and what is necessary to say of their history will then be said. The Mantuan Text is given from its first printed form, in Nathaniel Chytræus' *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ*, 1594, p. 186, taken by him, as will appear, from the " Mantuan Marble " :—

"Quæso, anima fidelis,
Ah quid respondere velis
Christo venturo de cœlis,

Cum a te poscet rationem
Ob boni omissionem,
Et mali commissionem?

Dies illa dies iræ,
Quam conemur prævenire
Obviamque Deo ire

Seria contritione,
Gratiæ apprehensione,
Vitæ emendatione."

Then follow the first sixteen stanzas of the Missal Text, ending with "cum benedictis," and concluding with a twenty-first and final,

"Ut consors beatitatis
Vivam cum justificatis
In ævum æternitatis."

Nor was even this thought enough by some: for a *Gesangbuch*, edited by Johann Behmen, Königsberg, 1650, adds this twenty-second:

"Ubi malorum levamen
In te, Jesu mi solamen,
Per sæclorum sæcla. Amen."

Mohnike also, on MS. authority ("Charisius"), prints this text in his *Kirchen und Literarhistorische Studien*, 1824, p. 44, and from him Daniel takes it in the *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ii. 103. The various readings of the three last-named authorities are these:

CHYTRÆUS.	GESANGBUCH.	CHARISIUS.
		i. 1. Cogita, anima.
		i. 2. Ad quid.
		ii. 3. Ob mali.
		—
		i. 3. Teste Petro.
		vi. 3. Nil incultum.
vii. 3. Cum nec.		vii. 3. Quum nec.
ix. 2, 3. <i>transposed.</i>	viii. 3. bonitatis.	ix. 2. Quod sim.
		x. 1. venisti.
		x. 2. cruce.
x. 3. ne sit.		
xii. 1. vere reus.		
xv. 3. statuens me p.	xv. 3. me loces.	
	xvi. 3. Loca.	

The Hammerlein Text was found among the papers of Felix Hammerlein, a priest of Zurich, after his death in 1457, and published in the life of him written by Leonard Meister as part of a work on the worthies of Zurich. Meister, who must have been entirely ignorant of the history of the Hymn, put forth a claim for Hammerlein to have composed the whole. This, of course, was ridiculous; but there can be no doubt that the stanzas, following after the seventeenth, now given, with obvious exceptions in the first two, are his composition. They are here printed from Daniel, ii. 103, the last two stanzas, omitted by Daniel, being supplied from the works of Drs. Coles and Schaff.

18. Lacrimosa die illa,
Cum resurget ex favilla,
Tanquam ignis ex scintilla,
19. Judicandus homo reus,
Huic ergo parce, Deus,
Esto semper adjutor meus.

20. Quando cœli sunt movendi,
Dies adsunt tunc tremendi,
Nullum tempus pœnitendi :
21. Sed salvatis læta dies,
Et damnatis nulla quies,
Sed dæmonum effigies.
22. O tu Deus majestatis,
Alme candor Trinitatis,
Nunc conjunge cum beatis.
23. Vitam meam fac felicem
Propter tuam genetricem,
Jesse florem et radicem.
24. Præsta nobis tunc levamen,
Dulce nostrum fac certamen,
Ut clamemus omnes Amen.

The following various readings in Hammerlein's copy of the Hymn itself, are also probably, where not found before, due to him.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| i. 1. cum for in. | ix. 2. Qui for Quod. |
| ii. 1. Tantus for quantus. | x. 1. fuisti for sedisti. |
| iii. 1. mira sparget for mirum. | x. 2. cruce for crucem. |
| iii. 3. Cogens for coget. | x. 3. lassus for cassus. |
| iv. 1. Mens stupescit for mors. | xiii. 2. emendasti for exaudisti. |
| iv. 2. resurgit for resurget. | xiv. 2. bonas for bonus. |
| v. 1. tunc docetur for prof : | xvi. 1. Ne conjunger for Confu- |
| vi. 2. comparebit for appar : | tatis. |
| vi. 3. incultum for inultum. | xvi. 2. acerbis for acribus. |
| vii. 3. Dum for cum. | xvii. 1. a ruinis for et acclinis. |

Of this text there is now nothing more to be said ; but the Mantuan Text requires to be handled at much more length, since there has always been mystery around it, and attempts

to solve the mystery have only made it more mysterious than ever.

The substance of the following paragraphs was published in the *Athenæum* for 24th April, 1886 :—

The “ Mantuan Marble,” then, from which this text is taken, is a sepulchral slab of marble said formerly to exist in the Conventual Church of St. Francis of Assisi at Mantua, on which was engraved the text of the Hymn as it has been given. Of the date of this slab nothing seems to be known, and the date of the church is later than that at which the Hymn is first found : and that the slab does not now exist, at least at Mantua, may probably be considered certain. On my endeavouring to make enquiries by letter at Mantua, I received a most courteous answer from Father Narcisso Bonazzi, Maestro di Capella to the Bishop, informing me that the church and convent were suppressed in 1797 (the year of the French occupation of Mantua), and in 1811 turned into a military arsenal, and that no trace of the slab can be found either in the church to which the monuments of St. Francis’ were removed, or in the Royal or Civic Museums of the town. The slab may have been destroyed by French Vandals,¹ or if a French antiquary got hold of it it is possible it may have been taken to France, and may yet turn up some day. But I am not able to undertake a systematic search for it through French museums, as Mr. Bensly did through libraries for the lost chapter of the Latin Apocalypse of Ezra, and must therefore trust to such documentary evidence as can be had.

¹ Eustace’s Classical Tour through Italy (i. 112, 4to ed. ; or i. 228, 8vo ed.) bears witness to the French ravages in Mantua at this time. But I have examined several older books of Italian travel to no effect : nor can I see mention of the slab even in the History of Mantua by Bartholomew Platina.

The earliest occurrence of any portion of this text is in an inscription over the door of a house at Ardetz, in the Ober Engadine, where the first verse may be seen in the following form :—

“Pense (*sic*),¹ anima fidelis,
Quid respondere velis
Christo venturo de cœlis.”

This was communicated to N. and Q. 7th S. ii. 474, with an interesting account of the house, by an antiquary of some experience, who states that “it is of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century”; but inquiry made in the neighbourhood yielded no further information. The whole text, however, as now known, is first found, so far as has been ascertained, in the “*Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ*” of Nathan Chytræus,² 1st ed., 1594, p. 186, where it appears under a title “*Mantuana*,” sub-title “*Inscriptiones Mantuanæ*,” and immediate heading “*In D. Francisci (sic)*.” With this agrees verbatim the third edition of Chytræus, 1606 (both are in the British Museum), which is in smaller type, and the reference is therefore earlier in the volume, to p. 140. Chytræus gives 1565 as the year of his travels in Italy, and presumably therefore that in which he copied the inscription from the original slab. This next appears in a “*Florilegium Magnum*,” printed at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1621, p. 1562, where it has no title or mention of Mantua whatever (Daniel,

¹ The writer in N. and Q. suggests *Pensa*. This may be so, or it may be a simple mistake for *Quæso*. But the omission of *Ah* or *Ad* in the second line is rather in favour of the first idea.

² Born 15th March, 1543, died 25th February, 1598, Rector of the University of Brezen, and brother to David Chytræus (b. 1530, d. 1600), the Lutheran theologian. Their name was Kochhafner, Græcized into Chytræus after the fashion of the 16th century, so well known in the cases of Melanchthon, Ecolampadius, and others.

ii. 118, note): and next in the Königsberg Gesangbuch, 1650, a collection of hymns by Luther and others, where it is stated to be "bei einem Crucifix" (Mohnike's Kirchen and Literarhistorische Studien, 1824, p. 44, quoted by Daniel as above). A MS. copy also exists, dated 1676, made by Christian Ehrenfried Charisius, a burgermeister of Stralsund, part of a collection called "Thoughts on Death," and entitled "Meditatio Vetusta et venusta de novissimo judicio quæ Mantuæ in æde S. Francisci in marmore legitur." This was in 1824 in Mohnike's possession, and printed by him at Stralsund in the work above mentioned: being then unacquainted with Chytræus, he states that Charisius himself had not visited Italy, but thinks that Nicholas von Elver, another burgermeister, who had done so, may have made the copy some years before. In Mohnike's second edition, 1836, he makes the more probable supposition that Chytræus was the source; Daniel, however, calls it "clearer than meridian light" that Charisius copied from the Florilegium; but if so, the title which he gives is almost impossible to account for, since Daniel himself states that the Florilegium has no reference to Mantua. The text next appears in England, in two long-forgotten religious periodicals. First, in the Christian's Magazine, August, 1760, we find the following letter:—

"To the Authors of the CHRISTIAN'S MAGAZINE.

"Gentlemen,

"The following *Latin* meditation on the last judgment, observed by a *Saxon* nobleman in a Roman-catholick church at *Mantua* in *Italy*, on his journey thither, and faithfully copied, savoureth more of protestantism than popery,

and is well worthy to be made public and to be preserved in your *Christian Magazine*; for which purpose it is communicated to you herewith by, Gentlemen,

“Your humble servant and constant reader.”

This introduces the text, which is entitled, “*Meditatio vetusta ac venusta quæ Mantuæ in æde D. Francisci sub pictura extremi judicii legitur*”: the change of type shows the differences from Charisius’ title. The correspondent then adds a reflection, “Oh that the greatest part of our fellow-Protestants were of such pious minds with regard to the last judgment, &c.,” and the editor a remark, “Lord Roscommon’s celebrated poem on the *last judgment* is a translation from this curious *Latin* one. He has even copied the manner, writing in a *triplet*. We will give it our readers in the next, and are greatly obliged to the gentleman who sent the above.” In “the next” accordingly this English version is given, and thus noted on, “Lord Roscommon begins his translation at the 5th stanza of the *Latin, Dies iræ dies illa*. It is *Petro* and *Sybilla* in the *Latin*, which is better than his lordship’s *David* and *Sybil* in the *English*.” Secondly in the *Orthodox Churchman’s Magazine*, March, 1806, is given a *Latin* and *English* text agreeing almost verbatim with the above, from which it was in all likelihood copied, and a note on the *English* to the same effect. Now with regard to these texts, or rather the former of them, we might at first sight suppose the Saxon nobleman to be Chytræus: but the title is not his, and it is most unlikely to have been given by the correspondent of the magazine: it differs again essentially from that of Charisius, singular as is the coincidence in the pair of epithets: and further still, which is very remarkable, the text is supplemented after the last stanza

of Chytræus, with the last of the Missal text, "Oro supplex et acclinis."

Even so far as this we are therefore not without some difficulties to face us: but when we refer to the "Monumentorum Italiæ Libri Quatuor" of Laurentius Schrædeus, 1592, the matter becomes very much complicated indeed. For here, at fol. 336*b*, is found, under a section headed "Mantua," and under the title and motto, "In Æde D. Francisci: Domine ecce quem amas infirmatur," the latter part only of the Dies Iræ, beginning with the 8th stanza, "Rex tremendæ majestatis," and ending with the Requiem, without any of the peculiarities hitherto discussed, but reading in the 11th stanza "juste *vindex*," and in the Requiem substituting *mihi* for *huic* and *eis*. The questions which arise upon all this are (1) Since both Schrædeus and Chytræus purport to give the inscription, are there two, or which is genuine? (2) what sources have the texts of Charisius and the magazine of 1760? (3) how can we account for the latter's addition of the Missal-stanza *Oro supplex*? These can only be answered in a very poor way, and greatly by guess-work. To (1) indeed it seems as if we must say at once that there were two totally distinct inscriptions, since each has every appearance of genuineness; and though the two different descriptions, "bei einem Crucifix" and "sub pictura extremi judicii," appear to have both attached themselves to the text of Chytræus, still the fact that there are two, so far as it goes, is in favour of this idea. Once it seemed possible that Schrædeus gave the real inscription, and that Chytræus had himself composed his text, exactly as it is known that Felix Hammerlein added to the end of the Hymn. But there is as good as no evidence of this: none in fact except (if evidence it can be called) the seeming greater formality of Schrædeus' work as a professed

collection of epitaphs, that of Chytræus being a "Delights of Various Journeys," and also the fact that Chytræus is, or more probably was, known as a Latin poet¹; and on further examination the idea appeared groundless unless it might be in the titles; Chytræus states plainly enough that his text is a Mantuan inscription, and we have no right to impeach his veracity without reason; moreover, the discovery of the first verse at Ardetz, if the date given is correct, at once renders the theory impossible. (2) Charisius, as above said, can hardly have copied from the Florilegium; from Chytræus it is possible he may, adding his own title; but since the magazine text has a different title still (which it is inconceivable can simply be the contributor's), and at the same time adds another stanza, I would rather think that there is a third source, as yet unknown, from which perhaps both texts are taken. In this case the magazine title is probably the original one, and was altered by Charisius; it has a greater air of originality about it, and perhaps a more Catholic tone, which might account for the change made by Charisius, doubtless a Protestant; certainly "*novissimum judicium*" is Catholic Latin, but the former word is also classical. (3) then is already answered; if a third source existed, it must have contained the Missal-stanza; and if Charisius, copying this, collated his copy with Chytræus, he may have omitted it on that authority. The existence of this third source is perhaps to some extent corroborated by the ungrammatical heading of Chytræus, "In D. Francisci," as if it were a hasty and careless shortening of a longer title. But here conjectures must cease—certainty has ceased long ago—unless the final

¹ According to Moreri he published at Hanau, in 1584, "*Fastorum Ecclesiæ Christianæ Libri Duodecim*," being poems on ancient and modern Church history. He also paraphrased the Psalms. See also a memoir of him in the "*Nouvelle Biographie Generale*."

one may be hazarded that if the third source is ever found, it will be in the "Saxon nobleman." Can he have been the Nicholas von Elver of Mohnike's conjecture?

The first known English versions of the Hymn date from the early part of the seventeenth century; and the first of all is believed to be Joshua Sylvester's, who died 1618. It is in a metre of 7.7.8.7.7.8, the third and sixth rhyming, and may be found in his translation of the "Divine Weekes"¹ of Guillaume Dubartas (d. 1590), at page 1214 of the edition of 1621, or 620 of that of 1633, entitled "A Holy Preparation to a Joyful Resurrection." There was another edition of Sylvester's Dubartas in 1644, and some of his smaller poems, not including the Dies Iræ, were published by Sir Egerton Brydges, 1814, in the "Restituta," a very useful book; but Sylvester as a whole was not reprinted till Mr. Grosart's edition of 1880. The point to be noticed in Sylvester's version, as in Drummond's after him, is that the original was the Mantuan Marble; and the text of this was doubtless taken from Chytræus, since as by him the Missal stanza "Oro supplex" is omitted. Sylvester lived very much abroad, and might have had easy access to Chytræus' work.

To Sylvester succeeded Richard Crashaw, whose paraphrase,² or rather imitation, in the "Steps to the Temple," first published 1646, is an exceedingly fine poem in four-line stanzas, mostly of iambic eight-syllable couplets; see Pope's

¹ An account of the Creation of the World in verse. In its own day it was most popular; now it is forgotten. Montgomery made extracts in "The Christian Poet," but I doubt if any more modern anthology has done or will do so.

² The Rev. Robert Aris Willmott (d. 1863) says of it in the "Lives of English Sacred Poets," p. 317, 2nd ed. 1839, "To style Crashaw's poem a translation is scarcely to render justice to its merits; he has expanded the original outline, brightened the colouring, and enlivened the expression."

opinion of it in a letter to Henry Cromwell dated 17th December, 1710 (Works vi. 116, ed. Elwin). Crashaw was Fellow of Pembroke Hall and Peterhouse, Cambridge, and afterwards a Canon of Loretto in the Roman Church, which he joined 1644; he died 1649. The "Steps to the Temple" were republished 1670, where the poem is at page 191 (so misprinted, though it is really 189); some of Crashaw's works in 1758; the whole by Mr. Turnbull in 1858, and later still, by Mr. Grosart in 1872. Almost while I write, some hitherto unknown poems have been discovered in manuscript, and the volume, acquired by the British Museum, has been privately printed by the last-named editor; a review of it will be found in the "Saturday Review" for 17th March, 1888. The version of the Dies Iræ is entitled "In Meditation of the Day of Judgment," and its original, as Crashaw was a Roman Catholic when he wrote it, was doubtless the Missal text. An Advent hymn abridged from it was published in the "Journal of Convocation" for December, 1854, by the Rev. Charles Warren, then editor; and afterwards used in a small collection of hymns privately printed by him (before the days of H.A.M. and kindred books) for the parish which he held during thirty-three years, 1840-73. A Maundy Thursday hymn was formed in the same way from Crashaw's version of the "Lauda Syon Salvatorem"; both answered their purpose admirably.

Patrick Carey, a younger son of the first Viscount Falkland, and also (at least at the time) a Roman Catholic, translated the Dies Iræ in 1651 in "Trivial Poems and Triolets, written in obedience to Mrs. Tomkin's commands"; his version was the earliest attempt at a literal translation in triplets, and its original was the Missal text.

Little is known of Carey, any more than of Mrs. Tomkin, to whose commands we owe his poems (she is conjectured in N. & Q. 3rd S. ix. 179 to have been one of the well-known so-named musical family); and as I have been lucky enough with the aid of friends to discover some particulars of him and his family not hitherto known, I must be pardoned the digression of inserting them in this place.

The pedigree of the earlier Viscounts Falkland appears to have been, till comparatively late years, in much uncertainty. Douglas's "Scotch Peerage," edited by Wood, 1813, gives a regular descent from Henry, the first Viscount, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, through Henry (*sic*), the second, killed at Newbury; Henry, the third; Anthony, the fourth; Lucius Henry, the fifth; to Lucius Charles, the sixth Viscount, 1730. This descent is repeated in the successive editions of the older "Debrett's Peerage," down to the last of 1849, and even in the earlier editions of Sir Bernard Burke's "Peerage," down to about 1864. But about that year the pedigree was revised, and, as I am informed by Sir Bernard himself, "carefully verified by Lyon King of Arms"—from, it is to be presumed, Scotch public records. The descent then assumed this form: Henry, the first Viscount, Lord Lieutenant; *Lucius*, the second, killed at Newbury, his son; Lucius, the third, died young, his son; Henry, the fourth, his brother; Anthony, the fifth, his son; Lucius Henry, the sixth, his cousin (son of Edward, son of Patrick, son of the first Viscount); Lucius Charles, the seventh, his son, 1730. The latter descent, is, of course, not doubted, and may be left out. Here we have three points of difference from Douglas: the name of the Viscount killed at Newbury, the insertion of the young third Viscount, and the descent of the sixth, or, as Douglas calls him, the fifth. The first two

are less important, though (1) there is no doubt that the slain Cavalier's name was Lucius, since, as may be seen in the "*Biographia Britannica*," he puts it so himself on the titles of his published works, and (2), as will afterwards appear, the existence of the third Viscount is witnessed by his uncle Patrick; the third is of great importance, but it has been adopted by Mr. Foster and Dr. Mair, the editor of the modern "*Debrett's Peerage*," both very correct genealogists, and on their authority, added to that of Ulster and Lyon, may be accepted. The fact that Viscount Anthony died without issue rests also on the unimpeachable authority of the late Col. Chester ("*West. Abbey Reg.*," p. 234). No further researches can be made, for the present Lord Falkland has kindly informed me that no unpublished papers of any kind exist.

The first Viscount had, according to the later pedigrees already mentioned—I actually quote from Burke's "*Peerage*"—eleven children, five sons, and six daughters. The daughters¹ were Catherine, married James, second Earl of Home; Victoria, married first Sir William Uvedale,¹ and secondly Bartholomew Price, of Linlithgow; Anne, Elizabeth, Lucy, and Mary, all Benedictine nuns at Cambray. The sons were Lucius, second Viscount; Laurence, killed at Swords, 1642; Edward, died young; "a son called Father Placid"; and Patrick; of the two latter of whom I now speak particularly. Their seniority seems to be wrongly given, and Father Placid's name of baptism (this of course

¹ The Countess of Home died without issue. Lady Uvedale had by her first husband (who was buried at Wickham, Hants, 3rd December, 1652) a son William, who d. inf., and two daughters, co-heiresses, Elizabeth, who m. first Sir William Berkeley, and secondly Edward Earl of Carlisle; and Victoria, who m. Sir Richard Corbet, bart. Whether Lady Uvedale had issue by Bartholomew Price I know not.

being one in religion) appears from Weldon's "Chronological Notes of English Catholics" and Gillow's "Catholic Bibliography" to have been Henry. Patrick is universally stated to have been born in Ireland during his father's lieutenancy, 1622-1629, from which fact he, of course, took his name; and probably Henry was so too; but I have endeavoured without success to find their baptismal register. There are no registers of baptism (which, indeed, were and are very rarely performed there) in the Chapel Royal at Dublin; and those of St. Werburgh's, in which parish the Castle lies, do not exist before 1704. This information I owe to the kindness of Sir Bernard Burke, Dean Dickinson, and Dr. Hughes of St. Werburgh's.

The Lord Lieutenant and his eldest son the Cavalier belonged to the Anglican Church, but Lady Falkland (Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Chief Baron Sir Laurence Tanfield) to that of Rome, which she had joined at nineteen, though not openly professing it till 1625, when she separated from her husband and left Dublin. This may rest on the authority of the lives of Lady Falkland by R. Simpson, 1861, and Lady G. Fullerton, 1873; and it was probably after the death of the Lord Lieutenant in 1633 that Lady Falkland's influence became strongest for the conversion of her family. An important passage in Clarendon's character of the Cavalier Viscount ("Hist. Rev.," iv. 229, ed. 1839, 12mo.) throws light upon this matter, stating that Lord Falkland's "charity towards them [Roman Catholics] was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when by sinister arts they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters." It

is clear from the expression "from *his* house" that this was after their father's death; from a letter of Patrick's own to Clarendon ("State Papers," ii. 535), which will have to be mentioned again, it is also clear that it cannot have been later than 1635; and as he is first found at Rome in 1638, 1635 was probably the year. The letter is from Brussels, dated March 18th, 1650, and says (showing, by the way, the source of Clarendon's phrases in the "History"): "Being made of my mother's religion (for I knew no distinction but that my mother was of that and my father of this), that I might continue in it and be taught what it was, I was stolen into France, and after a stay of three years transported into Italy, where I lived twelve." Patrick at that time cannot have been more than thirteen years old, and Henry was probably younger; more likely this is an over-statement. They were or had been under the tuition of the notorious William Chillingworth, who had himself been a Roman Catholic in 1631. Whether as such he had anything to do with their conversion to Romanism cannot be told; but he is said to have endeavoured to reconvert them to Anglicanism. In France, after passing through Rouen and spending a time in Paris, they appear to have been placed in the English College at Douay, where Henry remained and became a monk as Father Placid; Gillow states that he died in 1653, when he was serving as secretary, but no more is known of him. Patrick was in Rome in 1638, dining, as the "pilgrim-book" says, in the English College there in company with John Milton; he dines again in 1643; in 1646 in company with Richard Crashaw, another translator of the "Dies Iræ" (perhaps it was Crashaw who put Carey on the task); for the last time in 1647. Meanwhile John Evelyn gives us another

notice of him in the "Diary" for November 4th, 1644 (Bickers' ed., i. 117): "I was especially recommended to Father John, a Benedictine Monk and Superior of the Order for the English College at Douay; a person of singular learning, religion, and humanity; also to Mr. Patrick Cary, an abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest, who afterwards came over to our Church." We may possibly gather from this that Carey's connexion with Douay was kept up, though Evelyn was of course wrong, as will soon be seen, in calling him a priest.

All this while Carey's income had been a small pension from Queen Henrietta Maria of England, an abbey and priory *in commendam*, and certain charges on other benefices, granted by Urban VIII. (Pope 1623-44), on which, as his already quoted letter to Clarendon says, "he subsisted well"; but the letter, which is indeed our chief authority all along, goes on to show us that this income was afterwards lost. The loss of the royal pension is easily accounted for by the poor Queen's own misfortunes, and that of the ecclesiastical posts seems also partly explained, though not altogether, by the letter. "A friend," he proceeded, "is trying to get me a canonry now vacant of £200 a year, whereby I might live and yet not be obliged to take orders (a thing I am less willing to do since my poor nephew Falkland's death) or to bind myself." The death he spoke of was that of Lucius, third Viscount, who had died young the year before, in 1649, and been succeeded by his only brother, Henry, fourth Viscount; Carey himself was therefore now heir presumptive. The upshot of the letter was that if Clarendon could not help him he must enter a convent. Clarendon, though he answered pleasantly,

could not, or did not, help him; he advised waiting the course of events, quite likely referring to a possibility that Carey might shortly succeed as fifth Viscount. The canonry, however, also apparently failed Carey, and he accordingly returned to a monastic life at Douay with his friend Father John, the Superior, and his brother Father Placid.

Here, however (see note in "State Papers" on the quoted letter), he remained for less than a year, his health not standing the discipline, and he returned to England in 1651 in hopes to obtain a pension from his relatives. Again he failed. His mother and brothers, except Father Placid, had long been dead; his sisters had made Scotch, probably Presbyterian, marriages; his nephew, Lord Falkland, was a minor and doubtless in the hands of his guardians; he therefore renewed his application to Clarendon, at the time (1649-51) ambassador to Spain, this time for military work in that country. Clarendon again advised delay, not helping him in this or any other way, and poor Carey solaced himself with, and perhaps secured some slight profit from, his "Trivial Poems and Triolets," "written in obedience to Mrs. Tomkin's commands." Who Mrs. Tomkin was we know not; but it is clear that the whole contents of the volume were not written for her, at least not at this time. Some, at any rate, of the triolets or sacred poems (though they are dated from "Warnefurd, 1651,") were written the year before in his cell at Douay (see pp. 43, 46 of Scott's ed.), where also, if not sooner, he revised the MS. life of his mother by one of his sisters, now preserved in the Imperial Archives at Lille. "Warnefurd" was Warnford, near Southampton, where the Rector tells me that Patrick's brother Lord Falkland then lived and wrote at a house

now called Warnford Park, and that a "Memento Mori stone" exists to the latter's name. Some also (see p. 11) were written at his brother-in-law's house at Wickham. And for the Uvedales see Ben Jonson's Epigrams, cxxv., cxxvi.

All writers, even the memoir in the "Dictionary of National Biography," have here dropped Carey's history, stating that no more is known of him; but in Thurloe's papers in the Bodleian, ii. 503, there is a letter from the Royalist John Ashburnham which fixes his death to about a year after this time. The letter is quoted in "Notes and Queries," First Series, x. 172, and is as follows, dated November 27th, 1652:—

"What you find in Mr. Harvey his letter concerning Mr. Patrick Carey (the late Lord Falkland's brother) is at the least but the just character that is due to him. And though I have not the presumption to add anything to what Mr. Harvey takes upon [*sic*] to speak to, yet I may say that greater merit was not in any man than in his brother, nor was any man more obliged to him than was myself; insomuch that if there were any occasion for me to serve his memory, I would readily hazard my life for it. By this you may see how much I am concerned in anything that relates to my dead friend."

This letter is not very clear, but there can hardly be a doubt—I think there is none—that "my dead friend" refers to Carey. It must be either he or Lord Falkland, and the latter, who had been dead since 1643, is all but impossible; we shall not, therefore, be far wrong in dating Carey's death in 1652. He had been, we have seen, in bad health, and his total disappearance is thus accounted for. I cannot, however, hear of any record of his burial either at Wickham or at Warnford.

If Carey did, as Evelyn said, return to the Church of

England, it must have been during this last year of his life, but there seems no reason to suppose so. The chief, if not the only evidence to be gained from his poems on his religious opinions is this stanza (p. 15, Scott's edition) :—

"Our Church still flourishing w' had seene
If th' holy writte had euer beene
Kept out of lay-men's reach ;
But when 'twas English'd men halfe-witted,
Nay, woemen too, would be permitted
T' expound all texts and preach."

From this Scott drew the inference that Carey was a Roman Catholic ; it seems a sound one, and if the words " when 'twas English'd " are considered the only one. If they were absent the evils mentioned of unauthorized preaching might, indeed, be taken as the cause of the bad state of " our Church," which would then be the Church of England ; but their presence shows Carey's real complaint, and therefore that " our Church " is the Roman Church, the unauthorized preaching being mentioned as an incident. It is no doubt true that in the Scriptural mottoes to the " Triolets " Carey sometimes, though not always, uses the Authorized Version, but this is not much evidence against the former ; he may have done it to please his patroness, Mrs. Tomkin.

Of the time, place, or manner of Carey's marriage nothing is yet known, but since when he writes to Clarendon in 1650 he contemplates the possibility of taking Holy Orders, he must then have been a widower, if not still a bachelor, for it is, of course, possible he may have married in the last year of his life. Perhaps it is most likely that he did so, since his wife was an Englishwoman, and he had not, so

far as is known, been in England since his childhood; since also he seems to have had but one child. His wife was Susan, daughter of Francis Uvedale, doubtless of the same family with his sister's husband; was she the Susan whose "head is full of rattles" in the curious poem where he numbers up his loves for thirty ladies of fifteen different Christian names? Their only issue was Edward Carey, styled "of Caldicote," who married Anne, daughter of Charles, Lord Lucas, and was father of Lucius Henry, sixth Viscount; this last was born 1687, a date which agrees well with that here supposed for Carey's marriage. Fourth in descent from Lucius is the present Viscount.

Such was the somewhat unhappy life and premature death—for he could have been barely thirty—of the Hon. Patrick Carey.

None of Carey's poems were printed before 1771, when Murray (the first of the present great firm of Albemarle Street) published a small volume called "Poems from a Manuscript written in the time of Oliver Cromwell." This was nine of the "Trivial," *i.e.*, the secular poems: they were taken, as a note on the title of the British Museum copy states, "from a collection in the possession of one Revd. Pierrepont Crompton"¹; and the volume was reviewed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," xli. 325. Some years later the MS. was given by Murray to Sir Walter Scott, who inserted some of the poems in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1810 (iii., ii., lxvii.), a volume published in 1812, for which reason Lockhart placed the poems under that year (Life, iii. 30, 31, ed. 1837). The whole of the poems Murray pub-

¹ He was of Jesus College, Cambridge, B.A. 1754, M.A. 1757, Rector of Holme-Pierrepont, and other livings, Notts, and d. at his residence, Frinsted Court, Kent, 1st January, 1797. "Athenæum," 25th February, 1888.

lished for Sir Walter Scott in 1819, according to Lockhart, though my copy has 1820 on a slip pasted over. In this volume the arms prefixed, reproduced from the original, are those of Carey's brother-in-law, Sir William Uvedale; the poems printed in 1810 may be found at pp. 1, 11, 20, 25, 46, and the Dies Iræ at p. 61. Scott's further allusion to Carey in Woodstock may also be mentioned, where (chap. xxxi.) Louis Kerneguy and Alice Lee sing one of his songs; and in the note Scott describes his publication of Carey from Mr. Crompt's¹ MS., and explains Carey's identity. He, however, calls the Cavalier Viscount Henry, doubtless on Douglas' authority; and states that Carey "has been overlooked even by genealogists." A seemingly strange statement, when it is remembered that Carey's grandson succeeded to the title as early as 1694; but to be explained by the misapprehension of the pedigree already stated.

We next find a version of the Dies Iræ which has been commonly given to the well-known William Drummond of Hawthornden, who died 1649. It is in some respects superior to Carey's, and its original was the Mantuan Marble; of late years doubt has been cast upon its authorship by a writer in the "Saturday Review" for 23rd Aug., 1884. It was not published till 1656, seven years after its supposed author's death, by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, in a volume called "Poems by that famous Wit, William Drummond," which was reprinted three years later. In 1711 it appeared in "Works by William Drummond of

¹ It is perhaps worth while to notice that Mr. Crompt's Christian name of Pierrepont was also that of the eleventh Viscount Falkland, shewing some possible connection between the families. Unless, which is more likely, both were connected with the Pierreponts, Dukes of Kingston. Mr. Crompt certainly was so in some way, though not necessarily by genealogy: since all his Church preferment was in the gift of the Duke of Kingston, as it is still in that of his representative, Lord Manvers.

Hawthornden," published by John Sage (a Bishop of the Scotch Church, who died in the same year,) and Thomas Ruddiman (Advocates' Librarian, Edinburgh, died 1757); and in the same volume are translations of twenty of the Breviary hymns—among them the "Stabat Mater," the "Urbs Beata," the "Veni Creator,"—of which the editors speak as "some poems not hitherto printed, not unworthy we suppose of the author," and also as "published from the author's original copies." Now there can be no doubt, at least none has ever been started, that the Dies Iræ and these twenty are by the same hand; but the twenty are first found, with at least as many more, in the edition of the Primer, or Office of the B.V.M., of 1619, and the improbability is very great that at that time translations in a Roman Catholic book of devotion should have been made by any but a Roman Catholic; which as far as it appears Drummond never was. If, as has been thought possible, he was so secretly, he was probably led to it by one of his continental journeys, like Crashaw before him and many others after him; but of these the second, 1623-31, is out of the question, since the Primer hymns were published first, and the former, 1605-08, is unlikely since he was then studying law as a young man of about twenty at a Protestant University, or at least under a Protestant professor. We have then to find a probable Roman Catholic source for these translations, and a probable manner in which Drummond may have obtained them. In 1619 Drummond was visited at Hawthornden by his friend Ben Jonson, who had been a Roman Catholic from 1598 to 1610; and as the Primer hymns have helped us to show that the Dies Iræ, the proper subject of this work, was not by Drummond, so now the Dies Iræ, when associated as it shall be with

Jonson, will help (though it may be a slight digression) to associate the Primer hymns also. The years of Jonson's Roman Catholicism coincided with the later years of Joshua Sylvester's life : that Sylvester translated the Dies Iræ, and from the Mantuan Marble, we have seen : and that Jonson was well acquainted personally with Sylvester and his translation of Dubartas, in which the Dies Iræ is found, we know from his epigram cxxxii. and other sources. What more likely than that, perceiving that Sylvester had not retained the triplets, he should have attempted this task himself, procured the original from Sylvester, which will account for both versions being of the Mantuan text, and produced that hitherto given to Drummond ? there is quite evidence enough in his acknowledged poems, whether this were the cause or effect of his writing the Dies Iræ, that composition in triplets was not unfamiliar to him. This may have led him, being at the time a Roman Catholic, to study and translate other Church hymns ; his spiritual advisers were doubtless aware of, if not concerned in, the arrangements for publishing the new edition of the Primer, and whether he was translating with their knowledge or not, nothing is more likely than that the versions should be taken for that work. When Jonson visited Drummond at Hawthornden in 1619, we may well suppose him to have taken these MSS. to show Drummond ; there is every reason to conclude, from the general character of his "Conversations at Hawthornden" (Col. Cunningham's ed., last vol.), that he actually did take many ; and as the Primer was on the eve of appearing, he probably gave Drummond either the originals or copies of such as Drummond desired to have, which were afterwards published, to the number of twenty, by Sage and Ruddiman, and, as has been seen, rather doubt-

fully spoken of by them. They are not to be found in the Drummond MSS. as these at present exist, and in the early editions much is to be discovered which is not by Drummond. They were again included in an edition of no value published in London in 1791, and in Macdowall's privately printed one, 1832. Peter Cunningham,¹ 1833, not only omitted them, but left them altogether unnoticed; but W. B. Turnbull, 1856, Drummond's latest editor, has restored them (pp. 288-303). The Dies Iræ may be found at p. 266. Mr. Turnbull, a barrister (English and Scotch), died a Roman Catholic, 1863, aged 51.

The version supposed to be next in date was published in the "Daily Exercises of the Devout Rosarists," 1657, Amsterdam, and its authorship, which is dual, has been ascertained by a writer in the "Dublin Review," January, 1883, p. 56, to be by Anselm Crowther and Thomas Vincent Sadler, Benedictine monks. It is of a high order, and has been reprinted in America, in "Catholic Melodies," by the Rev. James Hoerner, Baltimore, 1843. The work of these Rosarists was much quoted from by Southey in his Letters to Butler, p. 492, *et seq.*

Next comes a version with a somewhat curious history. It was written in Ludgate Prison (afterwards the Fleet) in 1677 by Samuel Speed, son of John Speed, M.D., and grandson of John Speed the historian: he was afterwards Canon of Christ Church [M.A. 1660], and Vicar of Godalming, where he died in 1681. He had before written, also in the prison, a volume of very coarse poems called "Fragmenta Carceris": and this translation, part of another volume called "Prison Pietie," seems to have been intended as an

¹ My copy of his edition is his presentation one to Southey.

atonement.¹ It is in the same metre, 8.8.10, which is again found, as will be seen, about twenty years afterwards: but is on the whole not equal to that version.

Another Roman Catholic version was printed in two distinct works in the same year, 1687: (1) "The Great Sacrifice of the New Law Expounded by the Figures of the Old," London, Matthew Turner; and (2) "The Office of the B.V.M.," London, Henry Hills. From the latter book specimens of the version were printed in the "Saturday Review," 5th September, 1874, in an article believed to be by the Rev. W. J. Loftie. The former was the eighth edition of a work originally published in 1676: all editions contained "The Holy Mass Englished," and this last edition the Mass for the Dead, and therefore, of course, its Sequence the Dies Iræ. The work was reprinted (but—intentionally—not with critical exactness, somewhat indeed adapted) in 1890, with a short notice of its author, James Dymock, Priest, who appears to have served in England in James II.'s time, and afterwards abroad, where he died, probably about 1720. The version of the Dies Iræ, like Catholic ones in general, is very good, and was reprinted in "A Manual of Devout Prayers and other Christian Devotions," 1706, no name of author, editor, printer, or place, and also in a small edition of the Office for the Dead later in the century.²

A remarkable and striking version in triplets of 8.8.10 is attached to a poetical work entitled "A Paraphrase in English on the Following of Christ, written originally in

¹ Thus Herrick also had formerly written the "Noble Numbers" as an apology for the "Hesperides."

² For further remarks on these two versions, and indeed here once for all, reference may be made to the above-quoted article in the "Dublin Review," and to a successor in the next number: to whose writer I owe many thanks, as for allowing me to use the article, so for much other help.

Latin by Thomas à Kempis," 1694. This remains anonymous, and as far as I know has never yet been reprinted. The work is doubtless rare, as it was unknown to the late Rev. Samuel Kettlewell, probably one of the best modern authorities on Thomas à Kempis.

And the list of versions written before 1700 (and indeed with two or three more or less doubtful exceptions before 1800) is exhausted by that known under the name of Lord Roscommon, though not published in his lifetime. He died in 1684, and the version first appeared in 1696 in a "Miscellanea Sacra," published by Nahum Tate, then Poet Laureate. A second edition of this book was published in 1698, and in both the version is given to Lord Roscommon, as also in a volume called "Poems on Several Occasions, by the Earl of Roscommon," published 1721 (the preface is however dated 1717). But meanwhile the version had appeared in the Primer of 1706, together with Dryden's translations of the "Veni Creator" (always, as is known, among his works), the "Te Deum," and "Ut queant laxis," or "Hymn for St. John's Eve" (both first inserted by Sir Walter Scott, who clearly used the word *eve* as meaning *evening*), and versions of more than a hundred Breviary and other hymns. Here arises a case for Dryden's authorship of the Dies Iræ, and all these other versions, not unlike that already mentioned between Jonson and Drummond; like that, it has been handled in the "Saturday Review" for 20th September, 1884, and also in the "Dublin Review" for October of the same year. There is the same improbability that the translations should be by any but a Roman Catholic; Dryden was, as is well known, a Roman Catholic from 1685 to his death in 1700; and further, there is, as appears from the papers just mentioned, a wide-

spread tradition among English Roman Catholics that Dryden translated many Latin hymns, among them the very Dies Iræ in question. Much internal evidence for Dryden may be obtained by comparing these Primer-hymns with each other and with Dryden's acknowledged works; but it cannot here be given: as a specimen it may be mentioned that the "Hymn for St. John's Eve," of which Scott and other editors give four verses only, is in the Primer completed in its whole twelve; that there are no fewer than *ten* other translations in the same very unusual metre; and that the famous line of the Dies Iræ, "My God, my Father, and my Friend," occurs again in the version of "En clara vox redarguit." This line, famous since Dr. Johnson said it was the last upon its supposed author's lips, and probably indeed that to which he referred when he said the best line was Dryden's,¹ will serve to show how the version may have been associated with Roscommon. He and Dryden are known to have been on intimate terms, and his copy, no doubt well-known to his friends, may easily have been taken for his own composition, and published as such by Tate, exactly as we suppose that Phillips published Ben Jonson's for Drummond's: much critical faculty was not then exercised in these matters. Finally, indeed, the Jonsonian authorship of Drummond's Dies Iræ, and the Drydenian of Roscommon's, must be pronounced, if not demonstrably certain, very highly probable. The present version is a good one, though sometimes not very literal; but there are important variations between the editions of 1696 and 1721, and the former, though adding the Requiem,

¹ If this guess be true it will show that Johnson knew or suspected the authorship of the "En clara vox redarguit." It is also said of him that he could not repeat without tears the line, "Tantus labor non sit cassus."

which the other does not, omits stanzas ii. and xiv. The version has been several times reprinted, both among Roman and Anglican Catholics, as in "The Divine Office," 1763; in a "Missal for the use of the Laity," 1780; in a "Pocket Missal," 1791: varied, as in an "Ursuline Manual," 1833, which same variation is also in an American St. Vincent's Manual, 1843: abridged, as in our own hymn-books by Hall and the senior Bickersteth.¹

On the 23rd August, 1656, John Evelyn's translation of the first book of Lucretius moved (strange incongruity!) Bishop Jeremy Taylor² to write thus to him (Works, ed. Heber, i. lvi.): "I was once bold with you, I would fain be so once more. It is a thousand pities but our English

¹ Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, is noted as the purest among Charles II.'s impure poets. Of these, Bishop Ken's opinion is no doubt given in the lines—

"Of all the gifts which Heaven designed
To hallow and adorn the mind,
Sweet Poetry has suffered most
By bards from the infernal coast,
Who in her beauteous visage spit
The putrefaction of their wit."

—*Hymn for 20th Sunday after Trinity.*

And the Earl's exemption from this condemnation is marked by Pope in lines which have been often quoted; but Pope is probably quite as little read now as Bishop Ken's "Christian Year," and it may not be superfluous to quote them again—

"— In all Charles's days
Roscommon only boasts unspotted bays."

—*1st Ep. of 2nd Book of Horace, 213.*

"— Roscommon, not more learned than good,
With manners generous as his noble blood;
To him the wit of Greece and Rome was known,
And every author's merit but his own."

—*Essay on Criticism, 726.*

² Bp. Taylor's familiarity with the hymn is shewn by the quotation of it in his Advent sermon preached at Golden Grove about 1645. Much of his well-known gorgeous language is evidently based upon it.

tongue should be enriched with a translation of all the sacred hymns which are respersed in all the rituals and church books. I was thinking to have begged of you a translation of that well-known hymn, 'Dies Iræ dies illa Solvet sæclum in favilla,' which if it were a little changed would make an excellent divine song; but I am not willing to bring trouble to you; only it is a thousand times to be lamented that the *beaux esprits* of England do not think divine things to be worthy subjects for their poesy and spare hours." On the 15th November he writes again, "I am very desirous to receive the 'Dies Iræ dies illa' of your translation; and if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you I will transmit a copy of it." From this it seems that Evelyn was disposed to undertake the work: but the matter appears to have proceeded no further; at any rate, Evelyn's version has never been found.

A Roman Catholic work called "Bona Mors, or the Art of Dying Happily in the Congregation of Jesus Christ Crucified and of His Condoling Mother" (9th ed., 1754), has a paraphrastic version of the Hymn in ten-syllable couplets. It begins, however, with a single triplet, but contains only one more in its course; this is formed by a twelve-syllable Alexandrine in the manner so common in Dryden's poetry.

A fly-sheet by Mr. Edmands, of the Mercantile Library, Philadelphia, gives a version as to be found in "The Bearer of the Cross," by Andrew Dickinson, 1768. But enquiries both at the British Museum and of an antiquarian bookseller in America have revealed no trace of this book, and as there is a later version of 1845 by a writer of the same name, I think so strongly that there must be some mistake as to have excluded it from my list. Nor is this the only apparent

inaccuracy in Mr. Edmands' catalogue ; he states that a version exists by the late Dr. Kenealy, of " Tichborne " notoriety, which is not to be found in his published works ; also one is mentioned by a " Dr. Norris," under the year 1860, with a reference to " Blackwood's Magazine " of May for that year. But on verifying the reference it turned out to be a bare mention by Mr. Worsley, in the prefatory words to his own translation, of a version by " Dr. Norris " as a literal one ; and in the copy in the Union Library at Cambridge, where I happened to make the verification, the name was corrected, in seemingly contemporary MS., to " Irons ! " This I very much suspect to be the truth.¹

" The Entire Office for the Dead," printed probably between 1780 and 1790, contains also a version of the Dies Iræ, but this has so clearly been created by slightly altering and combining the two versions by the Benedictines and Dymock, and it so well deserves the epithet which the writer in the " Dublin Review " has given it of " a monstrosity," that it need not be farther mentioned in this place.

And it is quite worthy of note as an indication of the spirit of the time that as far as has yet been ascertained no single version (neither of those just mentioned can be properly called an exception) dates from the eighteenth century, and the Hymn, as is witnessed by the letter in the " Christian's Magazine " above quoted, appears to be more or less neglected. Interest in it seems to have been revived towards the close of that century and the beginning of the nineteenth, in Germany by Goethe's introduction of it into " Faust," and Justin Korner's into " Die Wahninnigen

¹ The late James Norris, D.D., President of C.C.C., Oxon., is the only contemporary Dr. Norris I can find : but I can trace no writings by him.

Bruder,"¹ and in England by Sir Walter Scott's into the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" (first published 1805)—

"Then mass was sung, and prayers were said,
And solemn requiem for the dead,
And bells tolled out their mighty peal
For the departed spirit's weal,
And ever in the office close
The hymn of intercession rose,
And far the echoing aisles prolong
The awful burthen of the song,
DIES IRÆ DIES ILLA
SOLVET SÆCLUM IN FAVILLA,
While the pealing organ rung.
Were it meet with sacred strain
To close my lay so light and vain,
Thus the holy Fathers sung."

And Scott's fragmentary version, imperfect as it is, very shortly found its way into sacred anthologies and thence into hymn books, down to H. A. M. and Novello's Hymnary, while in these latter days it has been expanded by a Roman Catholic priest, Father Anatole Police, into ten stanzas, so as to form a complete version in its own metre. The Rev. Louis Coutier Biggs says of it (English Hymnology, p. 9), that it "has more of the spirit and tone of an English hymn than most of the more literal translations"; what is wanted, however, is the spirit and tone of the original. If Scott had been a more exact Latinist than he was, and had had some knowledge of theological language, he might probably have made as good a version as can well be done.² Of him, as of

¹ See a translation of this poem in Duffield's Latin Hymns, p. 497.

² Sir Walter Scott's imitation, says the late Canon Parkinson in his preface to "Poems," "together with the beautiful song of Rebecca in *Ivanhoe*, proves that he whose genius touched everything and hallowed everything that it touched, would have succeeded where Byron so miserably failed, in transfusing into our language the very life and spirit of Hebrew (?) poetry."

Lord Roscommon, it is related that the Hymn soothed his deathbed: "We very often heard distinctly the cadence of the Dies Iræ": Lockhart's Life, vii., 391, ed. 1837; see also iii., 25, for his opinion of the Hymn expressed in a letter to Crabbe of about 1812.¹ For Scott's Catholic tendencies reference may be made to Keble's review of Lockhart's Life (Occasional Papers, p. 68) and to Blew's Hymns and Hymns-books, p. 101.

In 1818, a little later than Scott's use of the Hymn, a small tract of eighteen pages,² entitled "Lyrica Sacra excerpta ex Hymnis Ecclesiæ antiquis," was privately printed at Rome by the late Mr. T. J. Mathias, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, well known as an accomplished Italian scholar; he died at Naples in 1835. This tract contains in its Latin preface a grand and eloquent description of the Dies Iræ when sung, which I have placed as a motto on my title; nor do I think that the lines (almost the only serious ones in his "Verses and Translations," p. 67) wherewith the painting of Raffaelle inspired the late C. S. Calverley, are unworthy to follow Mathias' full and gorgeous sentence. Mr. Mathias' "excerpta" from this Hymn—it is strange that he found himself able to make any omissions at all—are stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 (omitting the line *qui salvandos*, and reading *salva nos, O fons*), 11, 17, and the first two couplets of the Requiem, reading *supplicanti parce*. Ten years afterwards, 1828, the description and extracts were reprinted in the "Quarterly Review"

¹ We find him also quoting to Bunsen, "Tantus labor non sit cassus," in allusion to the German "War of Liberation" of 1813. The quotation was a very bold one, but it shews Scott's familiarity with the Hymn. Life of Bunsen, i., 374.

² The copy in the University Library, Cambridge, which I have used, was a presentation copy to Dr. E. D. Clarke, then Professor of Mineralogy, afterwards Librarian.

(xxxviii. 39) by a writer who, Mr. Murray has kindly informed me, was Dean Milman; and it is curious now to see that he thought it necessary to exclude the line about the Sibyl, more so that he felt bound to justify himself by Mr. Mathias' authority for admiring "a hymn composed in uncouth Latin and barbarous Leonine rhyme"¹; but most of all that he appears to have thought these extracts to be the complete Hymn. Indeed this "Quarterly text," as it may be called, seems to have been for some few years a chief source of knowledge of the Hymn; for it is these very stanzas, with a title as of the whole Hymn, and with the same omission of the Sibyl-line (omitted also as late as 1864 by C. B. Cayley), that Canon Parkinson quotes and translates in 1832, as presently mentioned: but in 1837 John Chandler printed the whole original in the same volume with his translation: in 1838 Cardinal Newman did the same in a small 12mo, called "*Hymni Ecclesiæ*," long out of print²: and from this time the knowledge of the Hymn may be said to be established. For an instance of its influence on a modern novelist, see "It is never too late to mend," chap. xv., in the report of the sermon preached by Mr. Eden, the gaol-chaplain.

There is a paraphrase in couplets in the "*Orthodox Journal*" for 1817 (v. 402), another signed "T. T. S." in the "*Christian Observer*" for May, 1819, and Dr. F. C. Husenbeth published a third in the "[R.] *Catholic Miscellany*," 1823, and again, 1831, in "*The Missal for the use of the Laity*": while a fourth, in quatrains, came out in the same year in "*A Col-*

¹ Twenty-eight years later still, in 1856, the Dean again alludes to the Hymn in the "*History of Latin Christianity*," book xiv., ch. iv.: though he still applies the epithet "rude" to it, it is now "unrivalled."

² It was reprinted in 1865, but is even now, I believe, not very common.

lection of [R.] Catholic Hymns": there is also, 1825, a version signed "O." in the old monthly "Christian Remembrancer," vii. 315, which is in some respects good. In the "Christian Observer" also, then edited by his father, Zachary Macaulay, Lord Macaulay published in 1826 his fine version in couplets of trochaic sevens: it was not again published till after the author's death among his miscellaneous writings (People's Ed., p. 367); the Rev. B. W. Savile also inserted it in "Lyra Sacra," 1862, and it was abridged and varied in the Rugby Collection of Hymns, 1859. In the same metre another version, too wordy, but here and there striking, was published by William Hay in the "Bengal Annual," Calcutta, 1831; and in the next year Canon Parkinson of Manchester put forth his fragmentary version already spoken of in the "Saturday Magazine" for 22nd September, 1832; reprinted the same year, and again in 1845, in the preface to his "Poems Sacred and Miscellaneous."

But with these exceptions, most of which, it will be observed, are paraphrastic, the versions of this century—the present crowd of modern versions—date, so far as I have ascertained, from the Oxford movement of 1833, and begin with Isaac Williams in the "British Magazine" for January, 1834 (v. 34), reprinted in Hymns from the Parisian Breviary, 1839, and afterwards used in the Leeds and Clifton Hymn Books. He was followed by John Chandler, 1837, in Hymns of the Primitive Church, and among other less known names, some of whom shortly joined the Roman Church,¹ by Archbishop Trench, Dean Alford, and Mr. Copeland, whose version was not published till in the "Dublin Review" of April, 1883. To them succeeded Lord

¹ Among these Father Oakeley began, but seems never to have written more than three verses of it, a version in triplets of *sixes*; the only instance of the use of this metre. The fragment is given hereafter.

Lindsay, afterwards Earl of Crawford, in the "History of Christian Art," i., ccvii., and Dr. Irons, whose version, first published as a pamphlet with the original music, is now probably the most widely known of all from its insertion in H. A. M. But its notoriety is rather unlucky, since, though on the whole fairly good, it can hardly be called one of the best; and it is to be regretted that the compilers did not rather choose Isaac Williams, or Chandler if they must needs have the original double rhymes, for which the only argument, as far as I see, is the plain-song music. A short notice of Dr. Irons' version will be found in the "Christian Remembrancer," April, 1849, p. 493.

These, except one by Father Caswall, first published in his "Lyra Catholica," and used in the Irvingite Hymn Book, are all written before 1850 by authors now much known. A version of the Dies Iræ, however good it may be, does not by itself bring a man into notice; and there are more than one written in this period which must not remain with the slight notice given them in the last paragraph: the versions, for instance, of Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Lloyd, two of the just-mentioned converts to Rome, and of Father Aylward, a Roman Catholic from the beginning, take high rank upon the list.

In and after 1850 some of the better-known names are Dr. F. G. Lee, Mr. Blew, Mr. Worsley, Canon Bright, Dean Stanley. There is also a very successful version under the editorship of Dean Hook, in "Holy Thoughts and Prayers," by the Rev. Edward Simms. These all are more or less good, though, except Mr. Blew's and Dean Stanley's, they have not found their way into Hymn Books. Some have considerable merits, as has another, published 1860, in the [Roman] Catholic Hymnal, and attributed succes-

sively to Father Faber and Mr. A. D. Wackerbarth, a translator of the Eucharistic "Pange Lingua," but really written by a lady, Mrs. R. Partridge: this was inserted, somewhat varied in part, and completed from Dr. Irons' version, in Novello's Hymnary.

So far at this moment for versions of English nationality; of Scotch ones, besides Drummond's and Lord Lindsay's, I have only seen two: that in the "United Presbyterian Hymnal" is by Dr. William Robertson, and there is another by Dr. Hamilton Macgill in his "Songs of the Christian Creed and Life." The former is very highly thought of by the author's biographer, Mr. Guthrie.¹

Under the head of Irish versions it may be noted, as many Roman Catholic versions belong to that country, that among these some of the best are to be found. It cannot, I think, be denied that the change of our Divine Offices to the vulgar tongue has had its great share in our smaller familiarity with Latin as a spoken language; and thus a Roman Catholic priest who performs such offices in Latin, or an educated Roman Catholic layman who follows their performance, can hardly fail to be more deeply penetrated with the spirit of the Latin hymns, and this among them, than an Anglican who has not made them more or less of a special study. At any rate the fact is such, that some Roman Catholic versions are of the best; and in the same way there is no doubt that among other versions those produced by such Anglican Catholics as recognize that they are such, and are willing to call themselves so, are as a rule superior to the productions of those writers who, whether or not nominally belonging to the Church of England, yet hold Protestant or Puritan opinions. The reason of which

¹ "Robertson of Irvine, Poet-preacher," by Arthur Guthrie, 1889, pp. 132, 380.

seems to be not merely that Catholics are usually better scholars and probably more familiar with Latin hymns, but further, that a knowledge of theological language and ideas does not usually go along with Protestantism. Though the converse of this proposition would perhaps be truer ; to say, that is, that such study as I speak of generally leads men to Catholicism : thus I believe it would be found, if an enquiry were undertaken, that in Sir William Smith's series of Ecclesiastical Dictionaries all or most of the deeper articles were written by men of Catholic opinions.

To return : a good Roman Catholic version may be found in the " Messenger of the Sacred Heart," 1875—

" Dawns the day, the day of dread ;
Fast the fires of ruin spread,
David and the Sibyl said,"

though there is in the last line of this verse a slight deficiency of construction. But it is not equally easy to commend a rather extraordinary version in " The Manual for Sisters of Charity," 1848, and in " Annus Sanctus," 1886, by Richard Dalton Williams (" Shamrock "), an Irish barrister, now deceased—

" Woe is the day of ire,
Shrouding the earth in fire,
Sibyl's and David's lyre
Dimly foretold it :
Strictly the guilty land
By the Avenger scanned
Smitten aghast shall stand
Still to behold it."

The metre, a sort of crested leonine in eight feet instead of six, is that used by Drayton in the " Battle of Agincourt," and by Longfellow in a section of the " Tales of a Wayside Inn," and with its hurried gallop is but a poor substitute for

the solemn Latin triplet. Two other Irish versions may be mentioned, though not Roman Catholic ones; but both are good, the latter perhaps the better of the two: by Canon Macilwaine, of St. Patrick's, in his "*Lyra Hibernica Sacra*," Belfast, 1878, and by the Rev. Orlando Dobbin, LL.D., late Rector of Killochonnigan, remarkable because its author has stated that he made it without having read any other in the language. To some extent, whether so fully is not certain, it is believed that this is true too of Mr. Copeland's translation: Robert Lecke, the German (see below) also said the same thing.

Among the American versions, which appear to date not earlier than 1840, the first place of mention, if it be only for the singularity of such an undertaking, is claimed by "*The Dies Iræ in Thirteen¹ Original Versions*," by Abraham Coles, M.D., New York, 1859, a book which is a rare one in England, is not (or was not lately) in the British Museum Library, and was pronounced non-existent by a London bookseller from whom a copy was ordered; through the kindness of a friend I have, however, perused a copy. A similar book was once published in Germany: Robert Lecke in 1842 put forth "*Twelve Original Versions*," of whom Daniel says, ii., 121, that "he rather vomited and foamed forth versions" than did them with any skill—"Magis evomuit² et ebulliit versiones quam subtiliter atque

¹ The fifth edition, 1868, adds two more, and "*The Microcosm, a Volume of Poems*," 1881, yet another: still two more were published posthumously in 1892; total, *eighteen*!

² Compare a note of Cornelius à Lapide on the curious Vulgate rendering of Prov. xxx. 1, "*Verba Congregantis filii Vomantis*" (this is, as is well known, the literal rendering of the Hebrew proper names, and the Douay, with equal literalism, of course has "the words of Gatherer, the son of Vomiter") which in English is to this effect, 'They of old were called *vomiters* who spake a thing extempore, and not with a speech first thought upon.'

artificiose effinxit!" In America this fashion of making more versions than one was followed by Mr. Erastus Benedict in 1864 with three, by the Rev. Samuel Duffield somewhat later with six, by the Rev. John Anketell and the Rev. Dr. Mackenzie with two, and last of all by Mr. W. Nevin with *nine*. In England it has been done by Father Aylward in 1846 with two, and twenty years later by the Rev. J. H. Sweet with three, of which two were revised and reprinted, with music, in 1873 ("The Day of Judgment," Novello). Father Aylward's versions are of some value,¹ but Mr. Sweet's of very little, as might be expected from the author's innocent confession that all three were written within the space of *a few hours*; nor are they much improved in the revision. But to return to Dr. Coles: Daniel's words are strong, but not altogether without application to him and his "ebullition of versions," for hardly more than three or four of the versions are, taken altogether, of much value; many are very paraphrastic, and we can only lose ourselves in wonder at his facility in finding rhymes; he has added in his preface versions, luckily only single ones, of the Mantuan and Hammerlein stanzas. Most other American versions—I am sorry to have to say it—are also very poor; but while saying it, it is only right to name some exceptions: one by Mr. Henry Macdonald I can heartily commend—it is as good as any that I know. General Dix's ("Scribner's Monthly," April, 1876), though inferior, is not at all bad; neither is James Ross, in peculiar metre ("New York Observer," 1864); while another paraphrase in a simpler metre of 7.6 in "The Churchman," New York,

¹ As to these, see "Annus Sanctus," Preface, p. 15. It is probable that a version found in "The Crown of Jesus," 1862, edited by Father Robert Rodolph Suffield, is one of Father Aylward's early forms there mentioned. Father Suffield unfortunately died a Unitarian.

by the Rev. R. W. Lowrie, 3rd April, 1880, is also very good. The solemn effect of the triplets is of course gone, but the version is so good in other ways that there is more to compensate for this than we should have expected. As thus—

"O day of days, of anger,
When earth shall pass away,
And all be dust and ashes,
As seer and psalmist say:
How great shall be our terror
When He our Judge shall be,
Who then each deed shall measure
In strictest equity."

Dr. Franklin Johnson's also (privately printed, Cambridge, Mass., 1884), though not literal, is good in its own style.

It would seem, however, that criticism on the language of American versions demands some reservation in making it, since it is at least possible that what is still bad English in England is no longer so in America, so rapidly does literary expression change there in minor points. For instance, the disuse of the ending "est" in the second person singular of a verb's past tense, though not quite unknown in England, and indeed having Pope's authority in his "Messiah," and Milton's, "P.L.," x. 369,¹ appears to be much more common in America. Dr. Stryker, in his versions, uses both forms quite indifferently, and his writing is in other respects generally grammatical. Dr. Coles, in a later version, uses both close together in one line—

"Tired Thou soughtest me, for me smarted."

Of these words, more or less condemning American versions, some were written nearly, some quite, twenty years

¹ See Landor's criticism on this in "Imaginary Conversations," iv. 43.

ago, and need a little modification. Many later versions are much better than those which caused me to write as I have done.

In translating the Dies Iræ—it being a postulate that the Hymn *can* be translated in any proper sense of the word—the triplets must be considered as all but essential to be kept. Some of the versions in other metres, Crashaw's most of all, are fine poems, but they are not in the full sense the Dies Iræ: the triplets are associated with the Hymn in that way that such a poor representation of it as our best version after all must be, must have these to have anything at all of the original's peculiar character: if it have them not it may, as has been said, be a fine poem, but it cannot have anything of that indescribable grandeur and solemnity¹ which they give to the original; cannot in short be anything near that wonderful creation which the Hymn is now universally allowed to be. There are probably very few who would now think with Dr. Milman in 1828 (see above), or with a correspondent of N. and Q., as late as forty years ago (1st S. ii., 142), who says that the Hymn deserves not praise either for its poetry or its piety!

But while I speak thus of what is necessary in a transla-

¹ Triplets are used with a similar effect in poems on the same subject by Abp. Trench and Isaac Williams, called "The Day of Death" (Trench's Poems, 1838, p. 99), and "The Day of Days" (Williams' Baptistery, 1842, p. 283). In the latter one or two stanzas of the author's Dies Iræ are introduced, and six of the later ones form the well-known hymn, "Lord, in this Thy mercy's day" (H.A.M., 94). A different effect, but equally fine, is given by the use of a triplet to wind up a stanza of some length in couplets; of which there are instances in the "Lyra Innocentium," iii. 10, and in "Lyra Mystica," p. 254. A well-known simile for the triplet as used in the Dies Iræ is "the threefold blow of the hammer on the anvil": but here the prevailing impression on the ear is that of the couplet, and (to use a somewhat kindred simile) the idea produced by the last line rhyming with the two before it is that of the smooth but strong descent of the beam of a powerful engine, after the force has been taken off, and the rhythmical beat has ceased.

tion, I must not be understood to recommend the keeping of the double rhyme: the English language, though it supplies quite enough of these, supplies chiefly parts of verbs, participial and others, also words in *ation* and similar endings:¹ and of all hideous things in poetry, a superabundance of rhymes in *ation* is the most hideous: how, for instance, can a man away with such lines as these?

"Carceration, trucidation,

Flame and axe and laceration."

Yet they are in the original form of Dr. Neale's² well-known saints' day hymn, "Blessed feasts of blessed martyrs"; a kindred example in the same hymn is the unhappy line *With affection's recollections*, of which it is a problem I have never been able to solve whether that be preferable or Gerard Moultrie's *With devotion's deep emotions*. Another form of the double rhyme, the "two-word rhyme," is also

¹ For example, in the "Lyra Mystica," p. 49, is a translation by Dr. Kynaston of the Prayer of Hildebert to the Trinity: it is in fifty-five couplets of continuous double rhyme, and no fewer than twenty-six are rhymed with participles. More examples from what is our immediate business: in the seventeen triplets of Chandler's *Dies Iræ*, the first instance of double rhymes, nine are rhymed with participles, and three with other parts of verbs; in Dr. Irons', the best known, the numbers are seven and four; but in an American version by the Rev. D. Y. Heisler, 1880, as many as fourteen stanzas end in *ing*! On the other hand, one of Dr. Coles' later versions was written with studied avoidance of this ending. In the second place,

"Don't confound the language of the nation
With long-tailed words in osity and ation."

—J. H. Frere.

² Dr. Neale was quite aware of this difficulty, though he failed in avoiding it: for in one of his early essays on hymnology ("Christian Rem.," xviii., 315, Dec., 1849) he says, "There is nothing in which it is more difficult to preserve dignity than in rhymes recurring at very short intervals."

not good,¹ unless perhaps where the second word is of the nature of an enclitic, as with a pronoun in the accusative case. Such rhymes as *chorus, o'er us*, are allowed by custom, but on the other hand, such as *Sion, rely on*, do not commend themselves, far less such as *call men, all men*. Dr. Neale did much most excellent work in hymn writing, and it is painful, even for the sake of pointing a moral, to expose his mistakes : but he had bad taste in rhymes, and here too he failed, as in *Lauded day by day be Cyriac, victor baby*, and in *How elect your architecture*. Here I will cease objection to his writing : when he is next mentioned it will be with nothing but praise.

In a word, double rhymes always require the utmost skill in handling ; F. W. H. Myers in "St. Paul" and shorter poems in the same metre has avoided their dangers as well as anybody ; but the fact is that unless managed with Mr. Myers' skill, or even greater, they cannot be used continuously, which, of course, at once excludes them from a version of the Dies Iræ. They should only be used in conjunction with single ones, alternately or at longer intervals, and in the middle of a line not at all ; to most writers poetical instinct has shewn this, for there are but few, if any, instances of their continuous use in original compositions, at least of any length ; but in translation, poetical instinct has often been overcome by that mistaken lust of exactly preserving the original metre.

Mistaken I call it, for it goes upon the clearly mistaken assumption that the prosody of the languages, the whole

¹ This, at any rate, otherwise than in the excepted case, is not common in the versions of the Dies Iræ. A few cases may be found ; there is one unpleasant instance of it by Dr. Crookes of Philadelphia—

"Then the scroll shall be unfolded,
Wherein's written what each *soul did*."

poetical genius of the two tongues, is the same; and unless this were so, how could the same metre, the identical rhyme and collocation of accented and non-accented syllables, suit both languages and produce the same effect in each? The aim of a translator should be to ascertain and select that metre which occupies the position of his original in the language whereinto he is translating; it may differ very little, as in the present case, where iambic eights in triplets should, it seems, represent triplets of trochaic eights¹; it may be nearly or quite the same, as where Dr. Neale has successfully turned *Urbs beata Jerusalem Dicta pacis visio* by *Blessed city, heavenly Salem, Vision dear of peace and love*, or as where he and others have more or less successfully (more so with less rhyme, less so with more) turned into their own metres, *Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*, or, *Pange lingua gloriosi Prælium certaminis*; but that this is an accident, not part of a general rule, is shewn by what has already been mentioned, the instant vitiation of the metre by the mid-line double rhymes in the same writer's version of *O beata beatorum*. These are metres to a certain extent common to both languages; but it can by no means follow that metres which are specially Latin are to be used in English. Which is the better of Dr. Neale's two versions of *Gloria laus et honor*—*All glory, laud and honour To Thee, Redeemer King*, or, *Glory and honour and laud be to Thee, King Christ, the Redeemer*?² And how unsuccessful in English hymns are

¹ An anonymous American translator felt this so strongly that he unconsciously made the change here mentioned even while stating that "he bound himself to observe the metre of the original *with the utmost rigidity*!"—*The Lamp*, 26th March, 1859.

² A better translation than either is Rorison's—

"King and Redeemer, to Thee be the glory,
Children to Thee their Hosannas have poured,
Offspring of David, like them we adore Thee,
Who comest a King in the name of the Lord."

attempts, translated or original, in Sapphic or kindred metres, as this verse, difficult to read, impossible to sing—

"Saints with their crowns shall glitter, some with increase
Thirty-fold, some with double wreaths shall shine,
Yet shall no other diadem of glory
Glitter like thine":

or even as the familiar "Lord of our life and God of our salvation!"¹

The extreme instance is St. Bernard's poem, "*Hora novissima tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus*"; here Dr. Neale for once departed from his rule; and very thankful must we be that he did so, for we owe to it surely the loveliest sacred poem ever written, and more than one hymn which will live as long as hymnology. "Our language," he said in his original preface ("*Mediæval Hymns*," p. 52), "if it could be tortured to any distant resemblance of its rhythm, would utterly fail to give any idea of the majestic sweetness which invests it in Latin . . . The effect in English would be this—

'Time will be ending soon, Heaven will be rending soon, fast we and
pray we;
Comes the most merciful, comes the most terrible, watch we while
may we.'

It is evident that no labour nor skill could have given in such bonds anything approaching to an adequate idea of the

¹ The genuine English sapphic is a metre in which the above verse would be thus represented—

"Some saints with triple crowns shall shine,
Some brows shall double wreaths entwine,
But not a diadem like thine
Shall glitter."

This is hardly fitted for hymn-writing, nor is it now much used in any way: but (as was pointed out in the "*Anti-Jacobin*," No. xxii., 9th Apr., 1798) it is a good old English metre. The ballad in it, prefacing "*Woodstock*," will be remembered by some.

beauty of Bernard's poem." However, since Dr. Neale's time, there have been translators, the Rev. J. Mason, Mrs. Charles, the Rev. G. Moultrie, who have declined to adopt his conclusions, and boldly started on the course which he would not risk. But what was Mr. Moultrie driven to? he was forced to assume the liberty of "shifting the ictus from the first to the second syllable of the dactyl *ad libitum*!" that is, if one may so far use the classical names of feet, he put an amphibrach for a dactyl whenever he chose, and invented for himself a new metre altogether. Dactylic hexameters we know, and spondaic hexameters we know, but whence comes this amphibrachic hexameter before us? This is the result thereof—

"Fast fall the sands of time, high fills the cup of crime: watch, for
the warning
Light through the gloom is shed, shewing to quick and dead the
Judgment morning":

where, besides the amphibrach (thě jŭdgměnt), there are inserted two other feet, an antibacchius (făst făll thě), and a cretic or amphimacer (sānds ōf time), unknown to St. Bernard. Mr. Mason has certainly avoided all this, having succeeded most wonderfully in "torturing the language"; his dactyls are usually dactyls, or at any rate very respectable imitations thereof, as thus—

"Earth very evil is, time through the last of his journeys is hasting;
Wake we and watch, for He cometh, He cometh, the Judge everlasting."¹

Mr. Duffield of America succeeded perhaps even (in some places) better still (see "Latin Hymns and Hymn-writers," p. 225); certainly better than Dr. Coles, who began with the strange phrase—

"The last of the hours iniquity towers."

But Mrs. Charles has been forced to take even more freedom than Mr. Moultrie; her metre is of this kind—

“ Here brief is the sighing and brief is the crying, for brief is the life,”

and though it was seemingly chosen as such, can hardly be considered an imitation of the original at all. Her poem, with these liberties, may very likely be thought, as a translation, superior to Mr. Moultrie’s, or even to Mr. Mason’s; but of all impossible things, the most impossible, and (it must be added) the most unprofitable, is to translate St. Bernard into his original metre, or even into one so remotely resembling it as that which Mrs. Charles has chosen. What is any one of the versions quoted to this—

“ The world is very evil,
The times are waxing late;
Be sober and keep vigil,
The Judge is at the gate.”

What is this line—

“ O my dust, triumph thou, God is thy portion now, thine now and
ever,”

to such a glorious stanza as the following—

“ Exult O dust and ashes,
The Lord shall be thy part,
His only, His for ever,
Thou shalt be, and thou art.”

One great mistake common among translators, and caused as it seems by the use of double rhymes, is that of too freely using the participle of a verb with the verb-substantive instead of the verb itself; which Bishop Ellicott (an authority on grammar) calls a sign of grammatical degeneracy, “ Aids

to Faith," p. 464 ; thus it is not good English to say with Dr. Irons—

"What shall I frail man be pleading,
Who for me be interceding?"

instead of with Isaac Williams—

"What shall wretched I then plead,
Who for me shall intercede?"

and worse still is this couplet of Mr. Hoskyns Abrahall—

"On the rocks to hide them calling,
On the mountains to be falling."

It is impossible to lay down any distinct rule in the matter : but it would seem, as far as there can be any, that such use of the verb-substantive and participle should be, at least in literary English, confined to the present tense : for Dr. Irons' third line, "When the just are mercy needing," has not the false sound of the other two.

Again, double rhymes lead one to translate *Rex tremenda majestatis* by *King of majesty tremendous*, which is not a good line: *tremendous* is a word which has been so used as not to represent *tremendus* at all well. But the temptation is one which it seems difficult for those who use this metre to resist : at least a dozen translators, Dean Stanley included, have got the line ; one merit of Dr. Coles is that he has not.¹ Of *bad* rhymes little need be said : when you get such as *solemn, column, volume*, and even as *aghast are, faster*, you are too much aghast yourself to proceed any further. Here again Dr. Coles deserves praise ; his rhymes, though often

¹ In modern Latin composition too the difficulties of double rhymes are seen : compare the two versions of Neale's *Art thou weary* by Mr. Gladstone with double rhymes indeed, but only alternate, and by Mr. Ingham Black with continuous : the former is far the better.

extraordinary in their choice, are, generally speaking, good, except on one or two such occasions as when he rhymes *Gehenna* with *any* and *many*.

The question, then, between single and double rhymes may, I think, be considered settled in favour of single: nor am I alone in so settling it, or in the conclusions on which the settling is based; a translator of about thirty years ago wrote to me as follows: "As to the metre, I deliberately dropped the unaccented syllable at the end of each line because I found such a paucity of similarly accented English words that I could not make triple [simply = three] rhymes without a too frequent use of participial formations of the sentences—to my mind one of the least robust modes of English expression. And it has been curious to me to observe in the many versions I have since met with how very frequently the authors have been driven to adopt that form of sentence which I judged it best to eschew." But there is another question, that between iambs and trochees, which is not so easy of settling. The trochees of course most closely imitate the original, as no doubt do the double rhymes also: but whereas the latter are at once excluded as (so it appears to me) contrary to the habits of the English language when thus continuously used, and, further, difficult to manage well under any circumstances; these reasons do not apply to the former, and therefore the consideration of their more closely following the original may be allowed such weight as is due to it. For myself, I do not think that very much is due: the triplets granted, it seems needless to grant more. In these cases, as has been said, the original metre should be more or less closely imitated, but not slavishly stuck to: here the necessary imitation consists in the triplets, in other cases it may be in other things. But

there does not seem on the whole much more difficulty in writing a good English Dies Iræ in trochees than in iambs: and so, while myself preferring iambs, I should say that the question may in the end be left to the likings and powers of each translator—there are excellent versions of either kind. Some difficulties in trochees of course there are, but they are more easily avoided than those arising from double rhymes: a chief one, at least to English writers, is that of falling into an awkward inversion, as where Dr. Lee writes, *Offer what can I as plea*; another which we do not seem to have fallen into,¹ though it may be seen in some American versions, is that of having to dispense with an article, definite or indefinite; Dr. Coles, for instance, writing, *Trumpet scattering sounds of wonder; Book where actions are recorded*.

My farther course will be to go through the Latin by verses, examining what may be considered necessary to make a translation as good as possible, examining also such actual translations as shall seem to be one way or the other worthy of examination, and tabulating where necessary or possible such words and expressions as the different versions use. But before beginning thus upon the Hymn properly so called, a few words may be given to the additional first stanzas of the Mantuan Marble; of which, as has been said, there are versions by Drummond, Sylvester, Dr. Irons, and Dr. Coles.

STANZA I.

Quæso anima fidelis,
Ah quid respondere velis
Christo venturo de cœlis.

The word *fidelis* is here used in its technical and canonical

¹ It creeps in. I find it now in a version by William Cowan, 1879: "Mystic book is now unsealed,"

sense, with no further meaning than that of a soul still within the Church's pale, baptized that is and not excommunicated. In this sense also it is used in our 19th Article of Religion, where the English translation *faithful* has obscured the sense, and been thought to give authority to the Puritan notion of an Invisible Church within the Visible. Thus Dr. Irons' phrase, "Christian soul," is correct; and indeed Drummond's "*silly* soul" (whether taken in the earlier or later sense of the word), and Sylvester's "*dear* soul," can hardly be called translations at all. The second line has been differently understood, Drummond and Coles taking the word *quid* as referring to the soul's answer, Dr. Irons as to that to which it is to answer: the matter partly depends upon whether *Ah* or *Ad* is read, but Dr. Irons' interpretation seems preferable, which would require *Ad*—

"Think, O Christian soul, and sigh,
Unto what thou must reply
When Christ cometh from the sky."

STANZA 2.

A te poscet rationem
Ob boni omissionem
Et mali commissionem.

Drummond translates *rationem* very literally by *reason*—

"When He a reason asks why grace
And goodness thou wouldst not embrace,
But steps of vanity didst trace."

The other versions in triplets are vague in this respect; but Sylvester has the true meaning in the line, "When He comes to take *account*": the question is that of Esdras, "O thou Adam, what hast thou done?" not simply that put to Jonah, "Why hast thou done this?"

The second and third lines require no notice.

STANZA 3.

Dies illa, dies iræ,
 Quam conemur prævenire
 Obviamque Deo ire.

The weak inversion in the first line of the grand Vulgate quotation is almost enough of itself to shew that these stanzas cannot be part of the original Hymn ; and the third one is that which marks their purpose : they were plainly intended as a meditative introduction in the nature of an admonition to the soul to prepare for the great day of wrath before it comes ; prescribing the soul's conduct, mark, *before* the day comes, not when it is actually present. Dr. Coles has unluckily missed this point in his line, " God to meet *when He appeareth*," but the other versions, all using the word " prevent," have grasped the true idea. Drummond's verse is—

" That day of terror, vengeance, ire,
 Now to prevent thou shouldest desire,
 And to thy God in haste retire " : *

where the last line is a very fine one, and vividly expresses the rush of a faithful man to prayer under some sorrow or disappointment which he cannot bear by himself, and hurries to lay it upon One Who careth for him ; under some fearful temptation which he cannot resist by himself, and hurries to implore the help of a Stronger than he, praying (as Charles Kingsley once wrote) *as if the devil had him by the throat* (" Yeast," p. 18).

STANZA 4.

Seria contritione,
 Gratia apprehensione,
 Vitæ emendatione.

The word *apprehensione* reminds an English reader of St. Paul's expression (Phil. iii. 12), " I follow after, if that I

may apprehend . . .” The Vulgate word, however, is not *apprehendam*, but *comprehendam* : still it is perfectly possible that the writer had this passage in his mind, altering the word for the sake of metre. Of the versions, Dr. Irons’ is the most literal—

“ With contrition deep and sad,
With all grace that may be had,
And amend our life if bad ” :

though Dr. Coles’ translation is better in the second line—

“ By repenting, by believing,
By God’s offered grace receiving,
By all evil courses leaving.”

THE HYMN ITSELF.

1. Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvat sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

The first line of the Hymn proper is a verbatim quotation from the Vulgate of Zeph. i. 15, a phrase which is found in other instances in Latin hymnology, *e.g.*, in the *Laudes crucis attollamus* of Adam of St. Victor (Daniel ii. 78)—

“ Sed cum dies erit iræ
Confer nobis et largire
Sempiterna gaudia.”

Zephaniah’s words are in both our A.V. and R.V., “ That day is a day of wrath,” and perhaps the word *wrath* should be preferred in a version of the Hymn for the sake of preserving the quotation. For “ dies illa ” compare also the Vulgate of Jerem. xxx. 7, “ Væ, quia magna dies illa, nec est similis ejus.”

The Sibyl quoted in the third line is supposed by Mohnike

to be the Erythræan in those well-known lines ("Orac. Sib.," viii., 216 *et seq.*) forming the acrostic *Ἰχθὺς* on the name of our Saviour. Eusebius gives the Greek original in the "Constantini Oratio," chap. xviii., and St. Augustine has them partly in Latin in the "Civitas Dei," xviii. 23, thus beginning—

"Judicii signum tellus sudore madescet."

The Greek contains 34 lines, whose initials make up the sentence, *Ἰησοὺς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Ὁμῶν*, adding the independent word *Ἐαυτός*, and the initials of the first five words again make up the word *Ἰχθὺς*. The Latin translator, however, omits the last word—that is, the last seven lines—and does not succeed very well in imitating the acrostic of the others; as J. Healey, the old English translator of St. Augustine, 1620, says, "he could not make his verses ends meet in the same sense that the Greek meet." This old version gives a version also of the Latin form of the acrostic, but very much forced and laboured, thus beginning—

"In sign of Doomsday the whole earth shall sweat :
Ever to reign, a King in heavenly seat
Shall come to judge all flesh."

The modern version mentioned in the next note is from the original, containing therefore the whole 34 lines. Daniel, however, ii, 124, prefers another quotation which he gives in Chateillon's Latin, beginning as follows—

"Væ quas illa dies deprendit ventris onustas
Pondere, quæve suo lactabunt ubere natos."¹

¹ The Sibyls have been edited by Friedlieb (Leipsic, 1852) and Alexandre (Paris, 1851-56). See a review of these editions, "Christian Remembrancer," October, 1861: the reviewer gives an English version of the celebrated acrostic. A good account of the Sibylline Oracles may be found in the Preface to Moses

That this is the genuine third line of the Hymn there can be, if any, little doubt: but the Mantuan Marble, at least as given by Charisius, reads *Teste Petro*, and the Parisian Missal substituted without any authority a new line altogether, *Crucis expandens vexilla*, placing it between the two original ones. Dr. Schaff, in an essay on the Dies Iræ published in an American magazine ("Hours at Home," May, 1868), afterwards expanded in his "Literature and Poetry," states that the name of Peter is used in "some translations": I have, however, found no instance of it in English ones, and the Doctor was probably referring to those in German: Sylvester and Drummond, where we should have expected to find it, have both rendered the line by very general expressions. But the line of French origin has been adopted by almost all those modern translators whose versions are now best known, that is by Chandler, Williams, Alford, Irons, and Lee. The account to be given of this is, I suppose, that the Sibylline Oracles are now held to be a forgery: for there need hardly be any unwillingness to take into a version the heathen testimony to Christ of the books so called, and however it might be with Protestant writers, none can be supposed to exist in men of Catholic opinions like Chandler, Williams, and Lee. There is abundant precedent for the quotation of the Sibyls both in hymns and otherwise (see "Origen against Celsus," books v., vii., pp. 272, 368, 369, ed. Spencer, 1677); as in a sequence of St. Bernard, Daniel ii. 61; and in Christian art they are often represented, as a series of eight at Ulm Cathedral,

Stuart on the Apocalypse; another in the "Edinburgh Review," July, 1877; a later one, long and learned, by W. J. Deane, in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," January, 1887, reprinted in "Pseudepigrapha," T. T. Clark, Edin., 1891. And for a popular account see Howell's Letters, iv. 43 (ii. 629 *et seq.*, ed. Jacobs.)

Michael Angelo's five in the Sistine Chapel, and the Erythræan, Cumæan, and Delphic Sibyls in Van Eyck's altarpiece at Ghent.¹ For this subject see Mrs. Jameson's "History of our Lord," i. 245. Still there has been a very general disposition among translators to fight shy of the subject: for though few besides those mentioned above have boldly taken the *Crucis* line, many, while keeping the original like Sylvester and Drummond, have, like them, turned it generally so as to shirk the word Sibyl. There are, in fact, fewer than fifty who have used the word itself, of whom five have made it plural, one uses it with the *indefinite* article, "a Sibyl," and three versions, singularly different in authorship, the Rosarists', the *Bona Mors* version, and the Quakers', strangely have it in the original form of Sibylla, *David and Sibylla* say. There seems, however, authority for thus using the word in English: see Bingham's reference (Orig. Eccl. I., ii., 7) to the above quotation from Origen, where he uses the phrase, "Sibylla their own prophetess." Another form which the line has taken is, "Seers confirm the Sibyl's warning" (F. G. Maples), and the paraphrase of 1817 reads—

"To Israel thus proclaimed the King,
To nations thus the Sibyls sing,"

distinctly marking out the different direction of the two predictions.

On this head two more curiosities are to be found in American versions: the use of the word *priestess* in one which is marked in my note-book as "altogether worthless":

¹ In England a series of twelve once existed at Cheyney Court, Herefordshire, see N. & Q., 4th S., v. 243, where the legends under the wall-paintings are given: these are three heroic couplets for each, all prophecies of the Incarnation. This house was afterwards burnt, and the paintings presumably destroyed (N. & Q., 7th S., ix. 472).

and more singular still, the replacing of David by *Virgil* in another by the Rev. Charles Rockwell, which I have been unable to procure, though this first stanza is quoted by Dr. Schaff. It is thus—

"Day of wrath, O direful day,
Earth in flames shall pass away,
Virgil and the Sibyl say,"

and the writer must of course have had in his mind the famous lines where Virgil quotes the Cumæan Sibyl in the fourth Bucolic—

"Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas,
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo :
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto";¹

still, he can hardly have supposed this the passage alluded to by Thomas of Celano, and his reference to Virgil is thus somewhat unaccountable. Virgil is used in mediæval mysteries as a heathen witness to Christ.

Of those versions which turn the original line generally, almost all use such words as *seer* or *prophet* : one or two turn it more generally still, as Dean Disney's *Great theme of inspiration's lyre* : while there are again one or two who so dilute the verse that they cannot be said to have taken either reading. Of this class Worsley is a specimen, whose verse—

"Day of anger, day of wonder,
When the world shall roll asunder,
Quenched in fire and smoke and thunder,"

"The virgin has returned again,
Returned the old Saturnian reign,
And golden age once more."

—Longfellow's *Golden Legend*.

can only be described by the favourite modern word *sensational*. But all this will be more fully set out in the tabulation of renderings at the end of the remarks on each verse; and any repetitions, sometimes perhaps unavoidable, must, and it is hoped will, be pardoned.

Many translators appear to have set before themselves no very distinct idea whether they shall be as literal as possible, or more or less paraphrastic: thus you shall see verses here and there absolutely literal, and anon you shall find others departing from their text to all appearance uncompelled. Of this an example may be seen in this very first verse. The plain prosaic translation, such as Lord Macaulay's schoolboy or any other would give, is simply "the day of wrath, that day, shall dissolve the world in ashes"; but the vast majority of translators, instead of simply taking *dies iræ*, *dies illa*, as two nominatives in apposition governing the verb *solvet*, have made an apostrophe of one or both of them: with in the latter case this result, that they appear (I trust it is only appearance) to take *sæclum* as the nominative to *solvet*, and *solvet* as a neuter verb, which it never is¹; and thus they alter the idea in a way which, if justifiable in a paraphrase, is hardly so in a literal version. Nor is it for the better; for though it is a bold thing, and demands an apology, to differ from so many, I can hardly think that the majesty of the poem is increased by an apostrophe. Thomas of Celano thought none to be necessary, why should we think otherwise? In the third verse of the Mantuan text there is perhaps one in the weak inversion already quoted, *Dies illa*, *dies iræ*; but even that text is not improved by it.

Another point which demands consideration, and which

¹ The American, Dr. Stryker, has actually made this blunder in a literal prose version which he has printed, but which I have thought it needless to reproduce.

partly depends upon the former, is the liberty which many writers have taken of changing the tense from the future to the present throughout. No doubt the present tense may be managed as a historical present, so as clearly to shew forth the future meaning which is to be given to it by the reader ; and Dr. Dobbin has skilfully managed this by beginning with the following emphatic verse—

" Cometh the day, that day of ire,
When melts the universe in fire,
By Sibyl sung and David's lyre."

The prominence here given to the word *cometh* marks the sense which the present tense is to have throughout ; but without some such note of meaning as this it seems better to preserve the future. Thus the familiar Dr. Irons, in his version in H.A.M., hardly brings out enough in his first verse the notion of the *coming* of the day of wrath : apostrophizing a day is not to say the day will come : if he had used the future tense it would have been different : but when he goes on *O what fear man's bosom rendeth* all seems vague, the occasion of the fear seems insufficiently defined even by the succeeding line, and the use of the present tense hardly gives so much force and vigour as the writer probably intended it should give.

But I must not find fault too liberally : and a really good translator will hardly need such warnings as he might get from ungrammatical first verses like Dr. Coles's—

" Day of wrath, that day of burning,
Seer and Sibyl speak concerning,
All the world to ashes turning,"¹

¹ The writer probably intended a relative to be supplied, " Day of wrath concerning which Seer and Sibyl speak " : but it is hardly a fit case for such an omission.

or from far-fetched participles entailed on a man by the exigencies of double rhyme, as this in another American version—

"Day of wrath, dread day of wailing,
When the heavens through flames are *trailing*,
Prophet, priestess, speak unveiling."

where again a relative is missing: and in the editor Mr. Hutton's version in the "Spectator" of 7th March, 1868, another curious epithet is used whose meaning does not seem clear—"The day of wrath, that *haunting* day." Does it mean that we are to keep the thought before us of the day, which so may be said to haunt us; or what does it mean? It seems as if it must either mean this or nothing.

No: it will be a pleasanter task to call attention to a few really good first verses, and to some which are probably little known. And as it has hitherto been necessary to speak rather badly of the American versions, one of those shall be put first, which is as good as any that I have seen.

"The day of anger, ah that day,
Shall melt the world in flames away,
This David and the Sibyl say."

In this, by Mr. Henry Macdonald, *ah that day* must be taken as a parenthesis, and then the simplicity of the wording and the emphasis of the last line are both very good points in its favour.

Of those which are now commonly inserted in hymnals, the best is perhaps Isaac Williams'—

"Day of wrath, that awful day
Shall the bannered cross display,
Earth in ashes melt away."

These too are good, the first being a solitary stanza—

"Behold the day of wrath, that day,
The world in ashes melts away,
Thus David and the Sibyl say."

—*Rev. J. F. Garrison, M.D., New Jersey.*

"Day of wrath and doom of fire,
Hark the Seer's, the Sibyl's lyre,
Earth and heaven shall expire."

—*Lord Lindsay.*

"Ah that day of wrath and woe,
When the fire that seers foreknow
All the world shall overflow."

—*Canon Bright.*

These following vary somewhat from the ordinary style—

"Nigher still and still more nigh
Draws the day of prophecy,
Doomed to melt the earth and sky."

—*Caswall.*

"Dawns the day, the day of dread,
Fast the fires of ruin spread,
David with the Sibyl said."

—"Messenger of the Sacred Heart," 1875.

"Wrath and righteous retribution
Wait the day of restitution,
And of Nature's dissolution."

—"C. F. R. of Fulneck,"
Christian Observer, Jan., 1837.

And as examples of freer treatment, Lord Macaulay and Dr. Husenbeth may be given—

"On that great and awful day
This vain world shall pass away,
Thus the Sibyl sang of old,
Thus hath holy David told."

—*Macaulay.*

"The dreadful day, the day of ire,
 Shall kindle up the avenging fire
 Around the expiring world;
 And earth, as Sibyls said of old,
 And as the prophet-king foretold,
 Shall be in ruin hurled."

—Husenbeth.

Before passing on it may be well to point out a singular mistake made by another Roman Catholic translation, which is believed to be an early one of Father Aylward, in the "Crown of Jesus," 1862—

"Day of wrath, that day of woe,
 Doomed to melt all things below,
 Psalms and Sibyl-songs foreshew."

The translator's difficulty for a rhyme has caused him to restrict the day of judgement to the earth—all things *below*—forgetting that "the *heavens* being on fire shall be dissolved" (Dorian N.T.)

In the tabulated views¹ of which I am now about to give the first, it will be seen, first, that they relate chiefly to words, phrases, and turns of expression, and therefore if any line does not admit of insertion in such a table it is omitted; and, secondly, I have to premise that slight differences in the order of the same words are occasionally disregarded; thus, for instance, *David and the Sibyl* and *The Sibyl and David* would be placed under the same head. The versions also not in triplets are sometimes, not admitting of insertion, left out; and in short, though the tabulations may

¹ "I must entreat you to behold in a little Mappe that world of matter which might have been shewed at large." Dean Boys, Ep. 17th Trin. They however require a fuller apology than that with which the Dean has supplied me, for too many of the later versions are not included; but they still give a correct idea.

be considered correct as far as they go, they are not to be taken as altogether exhaustive.

Line i.—Wrath, 40 : anger, 7 : ire, 6 : vengeance, 4 : judgement, 2 : fury, horror, doom, each 1.

Dread, dreaded, dreadful, 12 : awful, 6.

Line ii.—World, 25 : heaven, 2 : earth, 19 : heaven and earth, 10 : earth and sky, 2 : earth and time, 1 : time, 2 : ages, 2 : universe, 2.

Ashes, 31 : dust, 3 : dust and ashes, 2 : fire, 12 : flame, 10 : smoke, 1 : embers, 2 : *crumbling* fire, 1 : fire and smoke and thunder, 1.

Melt, 17 : consume, 4 : dissolve, 4 : lay (in ashes), 11 : turn (to ashes), 3 : burn, 3 : expire, 2 : fade, flee.

Line iii.—Reading Sibylla. David and Sibyl, 27 : Seer and Sibyl, 9 : Seer and Psalmist, 6 : Sibyl and Psalmist, 3 : Oracle and Psalmist, 1 : Sibyl and Prophet, 5 : Psalm and Sibyl, 6 : David and Seer, 4 : Saint and Seer, 3 : David (alone), 1 : Seer (alone), 2 : Seer and *heathen*, 1 : *all* Seers, 1 : Prophet and Priestess, 1 : Zion, 1 : Scripture, 2.

Reading Crucis. Bannered cross, 3 : banner of the cross, 1 : cross (simply), 3 : sign, 1.

2. Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando Judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

As indeed all through the Hymn, a simple rendering is here the best ; “ weird horrors,” for instance, should be avoided, which a Roman Catholic writer (Mr. Charles Kent, Barrister-at-Law) in the “ Month ” for November, 1874, has

inserted.¹ Better perhaps, though still somewhat objectionable, is the phrase, familiar with another meaning, "reign of terror," in an American version by the Rev. C. Z. Weiser, D.D. Of other writers, some have brought in a new and useless idea, as Dr. Macgill ("Songs of the Christian Creed and Life")—

"Hearts *and* rocks will then be rending,
As the Judge is seen descending,
And the doom of all is pending":

though in Lord Roscommon's case he is perhaps excused by the neatness of his expression—

"What horror will invade the mind
When the strict Judge, Who would be kind,
Shall have few venial faults to find."

The additional idea of some is not only useless, but wrong, as this line of Mr. Samuel Watson ("Belford's Magazine," Toronto, May, 1878)—

"When the Judge shall come *in glooming*":

the writer probably remembered that our Lord will come in

¹ Such expressions recall to mind Lord Macaulay's chastisement of Robert Montgomery for similar sins: "the Day of Judgement is to be described, and a roaring cataract of nonsense is poured forth upon this tremendous subject": "Edinburgh Review," April, 1830; "Essays," People's ed., p. 132. One early American version, or rather paraphrase (Andrew Dickinson, 1845) goes distinctly out of its way to introduce such language here—

"The mountains cleave, volcanoes wreathe
Strange fires disgorged from earth beneath,
That in conflicting flames are flung."

Montgomery's "Omnipresence of the Deity" is probably now forgotten; but it had a great circulation till comparatively late years, and quite probably the influence of its language is traceable in the above lines: according to Allibone, a "school edition" was published in the very year in which they were written. Cf. also the hymn by Admiral Kempenfeldt afterwards mentioned.

a cloud, which is no doubt true, but the cloud will be a bright one.

The verse is not one of the most difficult to turn, but yet most translators seem to have diluted it more or less, and some unfortunately by sinking the last line, which is just what should be prominent : so Archdeacon Rowan of Ardfert, in the " Irish Ecclesiastical Journal " for June, 1849—

" Lo, that solemn Advent nearing,
How the nations mazed and fearing
Wait their Judge's reappearing."

The point in this last line is of course in the word *discussurus*, not so much to judge as to search and thoroughly, *stricte*, lay bare ; and this word *stricte*, I suppose, the following neat verse intends to expand—

" What a fear the heart is rending,
For the Judge is seen descending,
Love with justice no more blending."

—Rev. C. P. Krauth, D.D., Philadelphia, 1850.

To express the idea, the word *assize* is not a bad one ; I do not, however, find that many translators have used it here, though there are examples in James Dymock, 1687, and in the " Messenger of the Sacred Heart," 1875 ; and others, as will be presently seen, have used the word in the fourth verse and at the end of the Hymn. Among other translators who have given the correct force, two of the best are Dean Alford, 1844—

" O what trembling shall appear
When His coming shall be near
Who shall all things strictly clear,"

And Mr. D. T. Morgan ("Hymns and other Poetry of the Latin Church," 1880)—

"On every soul how great a fear
When the world's Judge is coming near,
Whose strict enquiry all must hear,"

while, among other American versions, Erastus Benedict has turned the whole verse very neatly—

"O what trembling there shall be,
When the coming Judge we see
All to try impartially."

This by Mr. Roger Tracy is rather curious; the neatness of the last line perhaps partly makes up for its lack of accuracy,

"O what terror shall oppress us,
When the Judge comes to *confess* us,
Strict and stern to curse or bless^d us."

And a third American writes thus, which varies from the usual type, but as a paraphrase is very good—the pronoun *it* is of course the "day of wrath" of the first verse—

"It shall make all hearts afraid,
It shall shew the Judge arrayed
All to try that He hath made."

—Alex. M. Rogers, *Philadelphia*, 1864.

Archbishop Benson of Canterbury appears to be entirely alone in discarding the personal idea of a judge, and substituting the impersonal one of a "Judgement sign." Mr. Copeland's version should have been mentioned sooner—

"What a trembling far and near,
When the Judge shall straight appear
Winnowing all with fan severe":

it is the only instance of an allusion to the text, "Whose fan is in His hand," though it is not very uncommon to introduce a kindred idea by the use of the word "sift."¹ Another metaphor, as might be expected, is sometimes suggested by the use of the word "weigh."

Line i.—Fear, 24: trembling, 17: terror, 14: tremor, 4: dread, 6: horror, 2.

Of several other words, such as fright, agony, distress, there are solitary instances.

Line ii.—Judge, all but universal: avenger, 1: "judgement sign," 1.

Christ, Christ Jesus, Redeemer, each once used.

Epithets. Great, 3: severe, 3: dread, dreadful, 2: impartial, 2: sore, strict, high, righteous, tremendous, omniscient, potent.

Line iii.—So very variously dealt with as to hinder classing.

3. Tuba mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulcra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum.

The trumpet gives a wondrous sound, but there is no need to say that it "blares," as Dr. Macgill, 1876, and two or three writers of America do.

"Blares aloud that trump of thunder,
Crashing, waking death in wonder,
Citing all the white throne under."

—Dr. Macgill.

¹ The most elaborate instance of this is by Mr. Jackson Mason (already mentioned for his translation of the Rhythm of St. Bernard)—

"Hearts of men with fear shall quiver
When appears the Judge for ever
Wheat and chaff to sift and sever."

One is reminded of Lord Tennyson's line, "Warble, O bugle, and, trumpet, blare"—the word may do very well for military music to welcome the Princess of Wales, but it cannot suit the trumpet of the last day of judgment. Of the Americans who have used it, one is Dr. Coles, who in another version calls the sound a "reverberating roar"; this is even worse. The word itself, *trumpet* or *trump*, is used almost without exception: W. J. Blew turns it into an "unearthly clarion"¹ in a verse which is an example of what I have called the sensational style: and two or three others simply speak of "the blast."

"Hear the unearthly clarion knelling
Through dim vault and charnel dwelling,
All before the throne compelling."
—Blew.

If this characteristic of the sound is to be emphasized, a simple way of doing it is "with loudest crash" ("The Lamp," 1856), and if the blast is to be attributed to any agent, it should be to the Almighty Himself—"the voice of the archangel and the trump (*tuba*) of God"—it would seem that to give the trump to the archangel, as is sometimes done, is a sort of confusion arising from the seven apocalyptic trumpets. Still, Dean Stanley and other writers have made the trump an angelic one; and it is indeed very few who have made it divine. Among these few are the Rosarists, and, later, Dr. Coles, in two of his versions: in his freer version in couplets he has taken the fuller idea of St. Paul as above—the lines, except the dreadful shrieks, are good—

"What dreadful shrieks the air shall rend
When all shall see the Judge descend,
And hear the Archangel's echoing shout
From heavenly spaces ringing out.

¹ The word *clarion* had been used before in the "Bona Mors" version.

The trump of God with quickening breath
Shall pierce the silent realms of death
And sound the summons in each ear,
Arise, thy Maker calls : appear."

While another American, calling himself "Somniator," though also introducing both the Almighty and the angel, has curiously enough exactly reversed St. Paul's expression, and written of *The archangel's trump, the voice of God*.

The other points to be noticed are the force of *regiones* and *coget*. The *regions* being, of course, in strictness the four quarters of the earth—the four corners, as Dr. Coles in one version has it—this idea, or a kindred one, should be preserved (but let no one go after Mr. Justice O'Hagan and rhyme *regions* with *obedience*), whereas such generalities as *tombs of earth, death's dominions, caves sepulchral, earth's myriad graveyards, dark and dusty dwellings (sic)*, lose sight of it; also to translate the *regiones* into kingdoms, or as Mr. Copeland has it, *empires*, is an error—the word has not that I can find this sense at all: a good general rendering is perhaps "death's valley" (Miss Pearson, an American lady). *Coget*, too, must not be watered down into a mere statement of the fact that the dead will come—the blast brings them. But to find a word is difficult; *summon* and *bid* are perhaps hardly strong enough, for a summons and a bidding may be disregarded. So indeed may a citation, but we know at once that if it be, further steps are often taken; and though this is true also, and indeed more universally true, of a "summons" in the technical sense, yet this sense is not so evident in the word *summon* as in *cite*: *cite* therefore has more of the required force, and is preferable. Of other words which have not this technical sense about them, *force* and *hale*, though quite strong enough, seem not sufficiently

dignified; *compel* is probably as good a word as can be found; *bring up* is less common, and thus perhaps better still. It should be said that unless otherwise stated all words suggested are actually found in at least one version. A fine, solemn line is the Rev. A. T. Russell's (1851), *To the tomb the trumpet calleth*, and an American version by Mr. H. C. Lea has also well expressed its own idea—

"The wondrous trump's mysterious tone
Shall pierce the fields which death has sown,
And force all sinners to the Throne"

On the whole, then, some of the best and simplest renderings of this third verse appear to be these—

"The trumpet's wonder-working tone
Through graves in every region blown
Shall hale us all before the throne."

—H. J. Macdonald (*America*).

"Hark the trumpet's wondrous tone
Through the tombs of every zone,
Summons all before the throne."

—Dr. Philip Schaff, 1869.

"At the unearthly trump's command
Heard in graves of every land
All before the throne must stand."

—Canon Bright, 1858.

"The trumpet sheds its thrilling tone
Through the far tombs of every zone
To force us all before the throne."

—R. H. Hutton, 1868.

Mr. Copeland's version is as follows—

"When the trump with thundering tone,
Through the graves of empires blown,
All shall throng before the throne,"

and there is some uncertainty in it: for the punctuation requires *throng* to be an active verb governing *all*. But such a use of the word is hardly or not at all to be found—"the multitude *throng* Thee and press Thee" is not what is wanted: and the only other construction of the verse, taking "the trump . . . blown" absolutely as in a parenthesis, appears to be very awkward.

For its singular metre and word in the last line,¹ this, of which a specimen has not yet been given, must be quoted—

"The dismal trumpet with sad tone
Sounds to the grave of every one
To rise and rendez-vous before His Throne."

—Anon., 1694 ("Thomas à Kempis").

And the following also is noticeable, for its introduction of "them which are alive and remain"—

"Hark the trump: its tones of thunder,
Citing all *on earth or under*,
Fill its startled realms with wonder."

—Hy. Mills, D.D., 1856 (*America*).

Another of a kind quite unique is Dr. Stryker's latest: the putting of words, so to say, into the trumpet's mouth, is very striking—

"Peals the trump's appalling breath
Thro' the scattered realms of death:
All before the throne!—it saith."

Line i.—Trumpet, 56: trumpets in plural, 1: trump, 32: clarion, 3: "trump of clarion," 1: blast (alone),

¹ Cf. the second Advent hymn in Bishop Ken's "Christian Year"—

"Supernal hosts who beams diffuse
Through arched heaven shall rendez-vous."

2: *other additional words*: tone, 18: sound, 13: voice, 3: blare (noun), 3: blare (verb), 1.

Epithets. Wondrous, 18: awful, 6: thrilling, 4: dreadful, 3: startling, 2: thundering, fearful, unearthly, shrill, hoarse, terrific, astounding, mysterious.

Line ii.—Cannot well be classed.

Line iii.—Verbs representing *coget*. Summon, 15: compel, 11: call, 10: bid, 5: gather, 6: cite, 3: bring, 3: force, 4: drive, 3: muster, 2: hale, command, constrain.

4. Mors stupebit, et Natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new." The first line of this verse probably describes simply the instant cessation at the last day of the whole former course of things, without any direct reference to the text which tells us that Death and Hell shall be cast into the lake of fire. Though Crashaw would seem to have had this in his mind by his line—

"Horror of Nature, Hell, and Death!"

and one version of Dr. Coles, instead of, like Crashaw, adding Hell, substitutes it for Nature. But most versions have *Death and Nature* (trochaic), or *Nature and Death* (iambic), a few *Death* alone, and Archbishop Trench *Nature* alone—

"What amazement shall o'ertake
Nature when the dead shall wake,
Answer to the Judge to make,"

while an American writer, Mr. Lea, though retaining both words, has used the second differently—

“For Death astonished then shall be
While Nature sets her creatures free
To wait the Judge’s stern decree.”

Besides several very general versions, two (Isaac Williams and Father Caswall) have written *Death and Time* with a remembrance probably of the angelic oath that there shall be time no longer; Archbishop Benson has *Earth and Death*, and Mr. W. H. Robinson *Death and Life*. This last translation is perhaps a rather daring one, but I am tempted to think that it best represents the original word, which is plainly opposed to *Mors*. The whole verse is this, and is a good one—

“Death and Life astonished view
Every creature rise anew,
Rise to meet the judgment true.”

Among others of the more ordinary type, Dean Alford’s is one of the best—

“Death shall shrink and Nature quake
When all creatures shall awake,
Answer to their God to make,”

though I rather doubt the replacing of *Judge* by *God*. One American writer has this, plainly taking *Nature* (as is shown by the adjective) in the so common modern sense of the mere external face of things—

“Death shall die, *fair* Nature too,
As the creature, risen anew,
Answers to his God’s review,”

a stanza which is an admirable instance of the uncertainty pervading so many versions: *fair Nature* is a decided blunder, and indeed it must be said rather a silly one; but *Death shall die* is a fine expression, first used in the "Saturday Magazine" paraphrase of 1832 by Canon Parkinson; it brings to mind that grand sonnet of Donne's (most readily perhaps to be found in Trench's "Household Poetry," p. 144), which ends thus—

"Why swellest thou then?
One short sleep past we wake eternally,
And Death shall be no more: Death, thou shalt die."

With respect to the translation of *stupebit*, it need only be said that it seems better, like Thomas of Celano, to apply one word, and that a simple one, to both subjects, Death and Nature, rather than to endeavour to differentiate that which is predicated of each, and to go about in search of elaborate expressions to that end. Where, as is here the case, almost every writer has a different form of language, it is not easy to select examples: one striking expression is used by the old Rosarists, who make Nature and Death *stand at gaze*: but as a rule the error has been greatly in the direction of too much elaboration; if it may be so said without irreverence, such phrases as *Death shall swoon and Nature sicken* are far too like the words of a physician who should describe with accuracy the symptoms of his patients. The strangest version of this kind is the following—

"Death aghast and Nature dying
Start and swoon."

Dean Stanley, however, having avoided the (so to say)

technical words above quoted, has produced a striking couplet—

“Nature then shall stand aghast,
Death himself be overcast”;

and Mr. Sinms' is also fine—

“Death, the last enemy, shall fall,
And Nature cease to be.”

Mr. Blake's version in “The Lamp,” 1856, is good too in its own style—

“Nature will tremble with affright
And Death recoil before the sight,
When God shall come to judge with might.”

The word *creatura* is, of course, used as we now say “the creation”; it is all creation that is here stated to rise, not man simply, as Mr. D. T. Morgan has in this verse taken it—

“Death shall grow pale and Nature quake
To see created man awake,
An answer to his Judge to make,”

nor does the last line prove Mr. Morgan right, for angels too are to be judged. I think we are familiar enough, from the Epistles of St. Paul, with *the creature* in the sense of *the creation* to use it so here, though if we do we should apply no epithet to it. I do not speak positively: but if not this phrase, *creation* should be used in preference to *each* or *every creature* or *all creatures*—it seems hardly well to use the English form of the original word in any but the exact original sense; and such phrases as *the pale offender* (Lord Roscommon), or *the buried ages* (Father Caswall), should, strictly speaking, be kept for less literal versions.

Some American writers have succeeded well here:

this, for instance, by Mr. Macdonald, is exceedingly good—

"Death shall be mazed and Nature then,
Seeing the creature rise again
To answer to the Judge of men."

This, again, has great force in the first line—

"Death stands in stupor, Nature too;
Creation's dead rise up anew
To give their Judge an answer due":

but on the other hand, that my caution on the meaning of *creatura* was not quite needless is shewn by a third American, Dr. Schaff, in this verse—

"Death shall shiver, Nature quake,
When the creatures shall awake
Answer to their Judge to make,"

where he seems to have simply taken it as equal to our ordinary use of the word, and pluralized it merely for the better sound. To give one or two more specimens, Canon Macilwaine of St. Patrick's has done well—

"Death and Nature sink with fear,
As Creation draweth near
From the Judge her doom to hear."

A rather unusual type of translation may be seen in an American periodical ("Littell's Living Age," Boston, 26th January, 1867), where the separate parts given by Thomas of Celano to "Death and Nature," and to "the creature," are both attributed to the former and the latter omitted; as thus—

"Nature and Death as they arise
And press unto the grand assize
Behold with overwhelmed surprise."

Another American, Dr. Stryker, has "Death and Nature shall appall," though there is no authority for the neuter use of this verb. It has indeed been in more cases than this the clear aim of American writers to strike out something new: witness again the following singular line—

"Death and Nature *he* surprises
Who a creature yet arises
Unto those most dread assizes."

—S. W. Duffield, "*Warp and Woof*," N.Y., 1877.

a mistaken verse: for who but creatures are to be judged? Why then does their resurrection, *as such*, surprise Death? Death is surprised by the whole judgement. Mr. James Whitney's verse, though in no sense a translation, deserves quotation for its simple solemnity¹—

"Coming fearful, sadly, slowly,
There the proud and there the lowly
Gather in the presence holy."

And to wind up with another curiosity, Mr. Hutton, in the "Spectator," writes of *poor ephemera of the past*.

But I have given specimens enough, and must go on to my tabulation, which will be more incomplete even than usual: the phrases chosen (especially to represent the *stupebit*) are so very various that it is impossible to give them all, and a selection can but be made of some which are more important or less common.

Line i.—Nature and death, 60: death (alone), 7: nature (alone), 1: death and *all* nature, 1: death and

¹ I fear, however, that I have no escape from characterizing this as a somewhat disingenuous version. Stanzas 8 and 13 are omitted, presumably for doctrinal reasons, and this is masked by dividing stanzas 7 and 9 into two, so as to retain the correct number and give an appearance of completeness.

time, 3 : death and life, 2 : death and creation, 1 ;
earth and death, 1 : death, earth, skies, 1 : the
world, 1.

Quake, 13 : quiver, 1 : shake, 1 : shiver, 1.
Other words beginning with q and s are quail,
start, sink, shrink, sicken, swoon. Of phrases
the commonest is stand (or be) aghast, 8 : *stand
at gaze*, 1.

Line ii.—The creature, 7 : every (or each) creature, 7 : the
(or all) creatures, 5 : creation, 12 : the dead, 13 :
man, 4 : mankind, 2 : mortals, 2 : earth, flesh.

Line iii.—Judge, 24 : judge and master, 1 : judicature, 1 :
God, 6.

Rise, or arise, 24 : wake, or awake, 11.

Answer, 12 : make (or give) answer, 12.

5. Liber scriptus proferetur, .
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.

The judgement was set and the books were opened
(Dan. vii. 10). “There is a threefolde book of God’s know-
ledge,” says Dean Boys, expounding the first Trinity Gospel,
“1. An universal common-place book, wherein both good
and bad are written (Psalm cxxxix. 15); 2. A private book,
God’s *vade-mecum*, in which only the names of His elect are
written, whose ways He doth know, that is, approve (Psalm
i. 7); 3. His book of accounts, or black book, wherein only
the wicked are written (Dan. vii. 10).” This same verse of
Daniel the prophet would so plainly tell us, if we wanted
telling, what book the “*liber scriptus*” is, or rather what
books are represented by it, that the mistake of Mr. Hutton

in the "Spectator" is a very strange one. He writes thus—

"Then shall the book divine appear
Where every word of God stands clear
For which the world must answer here,"

taking the "*liber scriptus*" to be the Bible: stating indeed in his subsequent analysis¹ that he so takes it. This is a solitary case: but into an error of another kind many translators have fallen by speaking only of what Dr. Dobbin calls our "*daily defalcations*," only, if one may so say, of the debtor's side of the account and disregarding the creditor's. Thus even Archbishop Trench—

"Open then the book shall lie
All o'erwrit for every eye
With a world's iniquity."

But the book of judgement contains all deeds of men whatever, good and bad; since men are to be judged by all those deeds it must be so—the book must be, or must answer to Dean Boys' "*universal common-place book*": and in a translation of the Dies Iræ the original should not be so far narrowed as to exclude its one half. The error comes out very evidently in this—

"Lo the *fault-filled* book extended
In which *all* is comprehended
By which earth is *judged* and ended,"

—S. J. Watson, 1878.

which is carelessly written by an author who forgot that a man is "*judged according to the deeds which he hath done in the body whether they be good or bad*," and who was also

¹ This analysis is a singularly mistaken one. The writer writes of a *silver-toned trumpet*—of *flute-like notes*—charming all by *suasive coercion*, by *invisible compulsion*, before the judgement seat! Fancy such epithets of the trump of God.

probably led into his mistake by the modern idea which has more or less given to the word *judgement* the sense of *punishment*. On the other hand, the true meaning is most clearly given in Mackellar's version—

"The written book will forth be brought
With good and evil records fraught,
And man be judged for deed and thought,"

in what must be called the "Thomas à Kempis" version—

"Then is brought forth that great record
Containing each thought, work and word
Which damns or saves before this council board,"

and in another style by Mr. Justice O'Hagan, who remembered the text just quoted—

"Open then with all recorded
Stands the book from whence awarded
Doom shall pass with deed accorded."

These are somewhat paraphrastic; but of more literal versions Isaac Williams' is one of the neatest and simplest—

"Then the volume shall be spread,
And the writing shall be read
Which shall judge the quick and dead":

and among less-known ones these by Canon Bright—

"Lo the book before Him laid,
Wherein all things are displayed
Whence the judgment must be made,"

and Mr. Copeland—

"Forth shall come the written scroll
Which contains the wondrous whole
That shall sentence every soul":

while this, if it were not for the unlucky rhymes, would also be good—

"Forth is brought the record solemn;
See, o'erwrit in each dread column
With men's deeds, the Doomsday volume,"

—*W. R. Williams, D.D., N.Y., 1851.*

unless the expediency be doubted of bringing so much forward (by "each dread column") the *debtor and creditor* idea which was used above: the word *Doomsday* seems to be borrowed from James Dymock's version of 1687. If enough has not been given of specimens, a rather curious one may be found in "Hymns of the [R.C.] Church"—

"Hear the angel now ordaining
To ope the doom-book all containing,
And the guilty world arraigning":

—*Dr. John Wallace.*

the command to open the books must surely be given by the Almighty, not by "the angel," and who the Judge is no one needs to be reminded. It is possible that "the angel" is to be taken to mean our Lord: there is certainly scriptural authority for this: but there is nothing to shew it in Dr. Wallace's verse, and such a use of the word without something to guide to the meaning would hardly be justifiable. Another rather singular version is this—

"And the book be opened, then
Finished by the Angel's pen,
Big with all the fates of men."

—*A. M. Rogers, Philadelphia, 1864.*

Mr. Russell has also an unusual line, *Lo to this the Judge appealeth.*

Little more need now be said on the two first lines of this

verse: the actual words taken to turn *liber* and *mundus* are very commonly the best and simplest ones, *book* and *world*: and though a few idle epithets,¹ such as *the mystic leaves of the dread book* are occasionally found, or the leaves "burn," or the whole book perhaps "glares," or is not a book at all, but a "huge unwieldy volume," a description which, suggesting as it does nothing but an enormous bank ledger, by no means adds to the dignity of the idea—yet the versions, where free from the mistakes already mentioned, are so far tolerably good. Where failures chiefly shew themselves is in the third line, either by sinking it altogether or by such careless work as this—

"Comes that Judge His book unsealing,
Secret writ of doom revealing;
All attent *but none appealing*."

—*Dr. Macgill*, 1876.

"Then the mighty book unsealing
Whence all deeds shall have revealing,
God shall judge *the world appealing*."

—"Round Table," N.Y., 23rd Feb., 1867.

Which two versions I put together for the sake of shewing the directly opposite statements they make, the idle character of the former, and the mistaken one of the latter. For what appeal could then possibly be made? and if the idea be introduced which is express by the laxer use of the word, it should be worked out as Crashaw has worked it out in the grand lines—

"O that Judge, Whose hand, Whose eye,
None can endure, yet none can fly":

¹ A version in "Lippincott's Magazine," June, 1869, calls it "writ in blood": which if intended to have any meaning is wrong, and if not is idle.

where *none can endure* gives the cause which a lost soul may be perhaps imagined to attempt to show, and then *none can fly* the utter uselessness of it. An appeal indeed there is, or rather has been ; but it must be made in due time, before the time in which this verse places us : and this too Crashaw gives us—

“ But Thou givest leave, dread Lord, that we
Take refuge from Thyself in Thee,”¹

to which appeal we shall come in the eighth verse, after the first six have described the judgement, and the seventh has shown the impossibility of an appeal *then*.

After the fine couplets of Crashaw just given, most things else must seem weak : but these, which are some of Mr. Abrahall's best lines, are not perhaps unworthy to follow them—

“ Opened, lo that book whose pages
Bear the record of the ages,
Precepts trampled, warnings slighted,
Love with thanklessness requited ;
For whate'er stands there recorded
Recompense is now awarded,”

and a solemn verse written in 1842 by Daniel French, barrister-at-law, is the following—

“ Straight the great book shall be unrolled,
Containing all that man hath done ;
And oh ! as there his life is told
To each, shall all be lost or won.”

¹ Compare a pathetic line of Francis Quarles (“Emblems,” iii. 12)—

“ . . . My wings shall be
Stretched out *no further than from Thee to Thee*.”

Line i.—Book, 54: books, 5: volume, 7: doomsday book, doomsday volume, doom-book, book of doom, each 1: record, 3: scroll, 2: roll, 2: writing, 2: pages, 2: page, 1.

Epithets. Written, 12: close-writ, 1: clear-writ, 1: of ages, 4: of record, 3: great, 3: awful, 3: solemn, 2.

Line ii.—Can hardly be tabulated.

Line iii.—World, 23: living and dead, 4: quick and dead, 6: judge, 5: arraign, 7.

6. Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit:
Nil inultum remanebit.

Of this verse the simplest and best rendering is probably that of Archbishop Trench—

"When the Judge His place has ta'en,
All things hid shall be made plain,
Nothing unavenged remain":

which is to be praised for its literal turning of *quicquid latet*.¹ In this phrase translators have often fallen into an error somewhat like that mentioned under the last verse. *Quicquid latet* is of course simply *all which is hidden*: but it has often been taken for *all sin which is hidden*, an idea which does not come in till the third line. Thus even Drummond of Hawthornden has taken it—

"The Judge enthroned (whom bribes not gain),
The closest crimes appear shall plain,
And none unpunished remain":

¹ The only objection is the elision in "ta'en." Anything forced for the sake of rhyme is objectionable.

otherwise this might be one of the best versions, though the inversion in the second line is somewhat unsuited to modern English, and the phrase *whom bribes not gain* is very like an insertion for the sake of rhyme. So again an American version has—

“So when the Judge each soul shall cite
Its *covert sin* will come to light,
Its wrong must recompense the right,”

—Robert M'Corkle.

where the last line's meaning is by no means easy to discover. And to carry this criticism further still, it seems also better to keep the grand simplicity of *quicquid latet* than to define it by *hidden thoughts* as Father Aylward—

“When the Judge assumes the throne,
Every hidden thought is known,
Unavenged sins are none,”

or *deeds* as Dr. Dobbin,

“When Christ is seated on His throne
All secret deeds in light are shewn,
None left in darkness and unknown,”

while Father Husenbeth (though his version is professedly a paraphrase) gives both—

“He shall be Judge Whose piercing sight
Brings every hidden deed to light,
And leaves no thought concealed.”

The paraphrase of 1817 has—

“When the just Judge shall take His seat
All evil deeds shall evil meet.”

This second line is the really important one of the verse : as to the others, the great majority of translators have used the word *Judge*: one or two have contented themselves with suggesting it in some such phrase as *that awful session*, and one has substituted the name of the attribute *Justice*: Father Aylward has adopted the unusual form *Lord of Judgement*. Of these the word *Judge*, as the commonest, is also the best; one instance of *Magistrate* (Dr. Stryker) is found: and if the Judge's person is to be defined, it is better to be accurate with Dr. Dobbin, as already quoted, than to use such generality as of this American—

"God the justice-seat ascending,
Silence now for ever ending,
Vengeance on a world is sending."

—W. W. Nevin "*Weekly Press*,"
Philad., 18th Jan., 1878.

which is far from literal. Lastly, where the third line is literally turned, the favourite words have usually been *unavenged*, *unrequited*, or *unpunished*, of which the former seems preferable as less common and yet intelligible. But a caution must again be given against paraphrase except in a version professedly so intended, like Macaulay's or Husenbeth's: Dr. Kynaston's fragment, for instance, gives this rambling version—

"See He sits, and see life's travail,
Tangled long, His hands unravel;
None shall stumble, none shall cavil";

a contrast to which, and a very good and simple version indeed, is this of Dr. Coles—

"When shall sit the Judge severe,
All that's dark shall be made clear,
Nothing unavenged appear."

There is a various reading *incultum*, meaning simply, I suppose, neglected; but it does not appear to have been much adopted by translators—though in truth there are plenty of vague versions which might just as well stand for one as the other.

Line i.—Judge, 48: sits, shall sit, be seated, &c., 22: take, claim, ascend, &c.—throne, 9,—seat, 8,—chair, 2,—station, 2,—place, 1: session, 4: assize, 1.

Line ii.—If in this line a man should turn to his algebra and calculate the number of permutations and combinations of such words as *hidden, secret; thoughts, works, deeds, feelings*, not omitting the different forms of the two first, such as *hid, secret* as an adjective, *secret* as a substantive, *secreted*, &c.—if a man, I say, did this, his total would not very much exceed the number of different versions I have found. And equally numerous are the representations of *apparebit*.

Line iii.—Unavenged, 15: unrevenged, 1: unpunished, 5: unrequited, 2: remain, 8: escape, 6: pass, 2.

7. Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?

The verse, particularly the third line, is based on the Vulgate of 1 Pet. iv. 18.

The Roman Catholic versions are, as has been said, often among the best; but it is a mistake to turn *miser* by *wicked*, as is done by a writer in the "[R.] Catholic Manual," New York, 1870. The word has sometimes of course that sense; but here it refers to the defenceless state of a soul at the Great

Judgement—defenceless in all external ways; his own good deeds must be his defence. The version is this—

“What plea shall *wicked* I pretend,
What patron move to stand my friend,
When scarce the just themselves defend?”

In other respects it is good, in the second line especially; but as regards the turning of *miser* some one such as this is better—

“What shall wretched I then plead,
Who for me shall intercede
When the righteous scarce is freed?”

—Isaac Williams.

The words, however, *intercede* or *mediate* can hardly I think be considered right; in *patronus* there is a *legal* metaphor which by many translators is hardly enough brought out. The *patronus* is the advocate, the counsel; and to substitute, as Isaac Williams, Dr. Irons, and others, have so often done, the idea of intercession or mediation is to alter the verse altogether. Mediation is the intervention between two parties of one who has somewhat in common with both: to intercede is to set before the Judge on the culprit's behalf either one's own merits, as our Lord Jesus Christ does in heaven, or those of another as a Christian priest does Christ's on earth. This intercession we have in the tenth verse: the idea in this is properly of a counsel only; and the despairing soul who puts the question sees at once that no “counsel” can be had, that more than a “counsel” is wanted, and so turns to Christ as the Intercessor in the ninth and tenth verses. Thus it seems that to turn the *patronus* into an intercessor is to interfere with the due order of the Hymn. Of those who have not done this, many have

as usual contented themselves with vague generalities, of which the most that can be said is that they do not exclude the true idea. A good specimen of this class is Dean Disney, of Armagh—

"O wretched man, what shall I plead,
Whom look to in that hour of need,
When scarce the righteous shall be freed?"

Of the few who have categorically expressed the correct idea, Drummond of Hawthornden in this verse—

"O who then pity shall poor me,
Or who mine advocate shall be,
When scarce the righteous pass shall free?"

and two or three more, have used the word *advocate*: others, as Canon Bright—

"Woe, what plea shall I procure,
Woe, what patron then ensure,
When the just is scarce secure?"

and the American writer already quoted, have retained the original word in its English form: this is not perhaps to be recommended, though it may be done. Possibly some way might be found of employing the word *counsel* in its technical sense; this I have never seen done, for the following curious line of course does not employ it so—

"What shall be my pleading tearful,
Where shall I get counsel cheerful,
When the just almost are fearful?"

—Wallace, "Hymns of the [R.C.] Church."

If it could be done, it must be done very carefully: for after all the "counsel" is to be such a "counsel" whose office

shall so to say merge into intercession ; he shall be in short *The Intercessor*¹ Himself : and in this light the best word of all, if it were not so unusual a one, might possibly be *daysman*, actually employed by one American—

“What, wretched man, shall be my plea,
What daysman then shall stand for me,
When scarce the just may hopeful be?”

On the whole, if *patron* is not used, perhaps as good an expression as any (the last line of course is weak) is such as is here found—

“O wretched, then what shall I say,
Who can defend me on that day?
Hope to the just scarce sheds a ray.”

—*Friends' Magazine*.

There are one or two singularities in versions which may be mentioned : thus the Rev. John Anketell of New York has given these two singular ones, where, whether on purpose or not, he has made the *patronus* a direct object of supplication (Archbishop Benson also has adopted the word used in the first version, and made the *patronus* into a “kind saint”)—

“What shall I poor wretch be saying,
To what *patron saint* be praying,
When the just scarce safe is staying?”

“What shall I frail man then say,
To what *guardian creature* pray,
When the faithful fear that day?”

¹ It is wrong however, as will have been seen, to introduce Him distinctly as such : thus Emily Pearson of America—

“Speechless I if Israel's Leader
Be not then my interceder,”

and having had no previous Christian use of the word *Israel*, our first idea is rather of Moses than Christ.

while the Rev. Joel Swartz, D.D., of Philadelphia, has gone to a very opposite extreme by writing—

“What shall I, alas, be pleading,
With *no* patron interceding,
When the just are mercy needing?”

It may be noted by the way that the meaning of “patron saint” in the popular use of the word, and the popular idea of a “Roman Catholic’s” devotion to him, which Mr. Anketell has plainly attached to this line of the Hymn, is at once excluded by the obvious consideration that this saint is of course an individual, whereas the interrogative *quem patronum* expresses doubt or deliberation as to who shall be addressed or sought to. “Roman Catholics,” if they pray to “patron saints” at all (it must be remembered that I speak now of the supposed ideas of a strict Protestant), can only be supposed to do so to their own patron saints: they may pray to other saints, but not to other patron saints.

The third line need not detain us except to mention the occasional use of the word *saints* instead of the more common *just* or *righteous*; as thus—

“My poor soul, what wilt thou say,
Or what patron seek that day,
When the saints for pity pray?”

Mr. Copeland has well shewn the eager anxiety expressed in the whole verse—

“What shall I, poor sinner, say,
Whither, to what patron, pray,
When the righteous scarce may stay?”

Mr. Lea’s also is good—

“Then what defence can such as I
Put forth, on what protector cry,
When scarce the just can hope descry?”

and as a specimen of paraphrase Mr. Hay in the "Bengal Annual," 1831, may be given—

"What shall such a wretch as I
To mine angry Judge reply?
Where shall I a Saviour seek
When the wise and just and meek,
When the pious and the pure
Scarce shall deem themselves secure?"

or Andrew Dickinson ("City of the Dead," New York, 1845)—

"Wretch that I am, what can I say
Or do but humbly prostrate pray,
And through my tears look up to Thee?
In Thee my refuge I have sought;
At that great day destroy me not;
In boundless mercy pity me."

Line i.—Wretch or wretched, 36: sinner, 4: guilty, 3: frail man, 2: wicked, 1: unworthy, 1. Plead or plea, 40: say, 14: answer, 5: reply, 2.

Line ii.—Intercede, &c., 24: patron, 14 (-saint, 1): guardian, 1 (-creature, 1): advocate, 7: defend or defender, 6: friend, 4: protector, protection, 3: mediate, mediation, 2: mediator, saviour, daysman.

Line iii.—Just, 52: righteous, 18; saint or saints, 6: good, godly, faithful, holiest. Of *sit securus* the turnings are very various.

8. Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

How many both in reality and fiction has this verse consoled! Some may remember two very different tales: Mr. Neale's repentant knight transfixd by the Saracens in the

"Stories of the Crusades," whose prayer is rewarded by the armed Prior from the sally absolving him at the last moment ; and Meinhold's poor "Amber Witch" racked for her supposed sorcery.

The objections to translating the first line of this verse by *King of majesty tremendous* have been already stated, neither need be repeated : that translation has probably arisen simply from the need for a double rhyme (though there are some few instances of *King of tremendous majesty* as an iambic line), for it is of older date than the present crowd of versions of Latin hymns, and therefore than the fashion to which Neale was so much attached of using original Latin words in their English form. Of this I know but one thoroughly successful instance—

" They stand, those halls of Syon,
Conjubilant with song "

has so succeeded : *conjubilant* is a fine word and expressive, and unless H. A. M. (for which there was hardly a necessity) had altered it into *all jubilant*, would probably by this time have gone near to take its place in the language : but *trucidation* (already quoted), and *cunctipotent*, and *prætergressing*, and others like them, are too pedantic to be of much value. They supply no real want, and only remind one of the Latinisms of some early pedantic writers.

The second line is perhaps the hardest line in the whole Hymn to turn well : indeed the difficulty of this verse and the two next is so great that very few writers indeed can be said to have succeeded. The meaning of *salvandos* is this, those who, Almighty God sees in His infinite foreknowledge, will endure unto the end, for those are they who shall be saved, and they are saved *gratis*, according to His mercy and

not by works of righteousness which they have done. And the difficulty is to express this in English without falling into Calvinistic views of predestination on the one hand, or watering the words down into nothing on the other. The co-existence of God's purposes and man's free-will is one of the most difficult problems in theology: and albeit this is not the place to attempt to discuss such a problem, we must remember its existence: for the remembrance, if it do not show us how to translate the verse, will at least show us how we must not. And most writers, in fact, appear to have been content with the latter knowledge without trying to acquire the former: for out of my two hundred versions (in round numbers) there is but a very small proportion in which it has been attempted to translate *salvandos*. One, Dr. Kynaston, has left out the whole verse; his version, however, is but a fragment: some have left out the word, as Isaac Williams—

"King of dreadful majesty,
Saving souls in mercy free,
 Fount of pity, save thou me."

many have taken it as if it were equal to *salvatos*: so even Archbishop Trench, though with such a scholar we are bound to take it for granted that he supposed what is not very supposable, that his phrase must needs include and suggest the true idea—

"King of awful majesty,
 Who *the saved* dost freely free,
 Fount of mercy, pity me."

But the difficulty of accurately representing it has been found so great that in one way or other all writers but the few I have mentioned have blinked it; concluding perhaps that they could not do better than follow the example of the

earliest version by Joshua Sylvester, whose expression is this—

"King of awful majesty,
Health of all that hope on Thee,
My saving health, as then, appear."

Two other early writers, Drummond and Dymock, have betaken themselves to this not very decisive expression—

"All wholly holy, dreadful King,
Who freely life to *Thine* dost bring,
Of mercy save me, mercy's spring":
—*Drummond*.

"King of dreadful glory mine,
Who savest freely those are *Thine*,
Save me, fount of love divine":
—*Dymock*.

but still it may perhaps be thought to give somewhat of the force of the original: it appears again in an American version, by Erastus Benedict—

"King of majesty divine,
Freely saving who are *Thine*,
Save me, fount of love divine."

In two other American versions, and in Mr. D. T. Morgan's, we have the word *elect*; *chosen* is also found.

"O King with fearful glory decked,
Who freely savest *Thine elect*,
Fountain of pity, me protect."
—*Morgan*.

Mr. Hoskyns-Abrahall has boldly used the technical word *predestined*, wherein he was followed by the ten-syllable version of the "Sacred Heart," 1880; and other expressions are *saints*,

which has the same indecision as Drummond's word; *heirs of grace*; and the very literal one, *those who saved shall be*.¹

"King of dread, Whose mercy free
Saveth those that saved shall be,—
Fount of pity, pity me."

—Lord Lindsay.

I should consider that the choice lay between the last two versions of *salvandos*; and of these—slightly cumbrous as it is—I should prefer the latter, since even in *heirs of grace* there may be thought a little uncertainty. For the translation of *gratis* the best word is probably the simple *freely*, though *gratis* itself is used in the "Thomas à Kempis" version, 1694—

"*Gratis* Thou dost preserve, great King,
Those that thereof are meriting;
But let Thy mercy me to safety bring,"

and later also in the "[R.] Catholic Choralist," 1842, and in the "Lamp," 1859: while the phrase in Mr. Simms' version is *Whose free salvation none can buy*. *Without fee* has also been used, but does not commend itself.

In the third line there are a few cases of the use of the word *piety*, but it is an objectionable use; for this word now represents only our love towards God and the fruit of that love, and can hardly be used of God's love and compassion towards us, which is the meaning of the original. The shorter form of the word, *pity*, is very common, and between this, *love*, and *mercy*, all which are found, there hardly seems to be much choice. *Kindness* has been occasionally adopted, but seems to produce the same sense of something wanting

¹ "Those who saved *would* be," once or twice found, is of course wrong.

which one gets from Tate and Brady's 51st Psalm—

"Have mercy, Lord, on me,
As Thou wert ever kind."

The inexorable necessities of rhyme have driven Dr. Stryker to the unusual phrase *Mercy-Laver*, a synonym for *fount*, commoner in old Puritan language than now.

In giving, as I have generally done, a few final specimens of the best versions, my choice is, as has been said, far more limited than usual: Lord Lindsay's is good, but it has been already quoted, and Canon Macilwaine's, though like others deficient in its turning of *salvandos*, must be included for the uncommon and somewhat striking extension of the last line—

"King of majesty supreme,
Who all-freely dost redeem,
Save me, mercy's fount and stream."

The "Christian Remembrancer" version of April, 1825, freely expands the verse into two (a similar expansion is found in the last verse but one), thus—

"My refuge is my Judge alone;
O Thou Who didst for man atone,
And save by merits not his own—
Jesu Who didst Thy Father's will
In every point for man fulfil,
Be mindful of Thy servant still."

And if I may wind up with a singularity, this in such a point of view is noticeable—

"Yet, enthroned in *sapphire-blazes*,
Awful King, Thy grace amazes,
Save me for its endless praises."

—Rev. Oliver Taylor (*American*).

Mr. Taylor, of course, remembered his Ezekiel (i. 26);

perhaps also he remembered Gray's allusion to Milton in the "Progress of Poesy" (iii. 2)¹—

"The living throne, the sapphire blaze,
Where angels tremble while they gaze,
He saw":

and if the word had been used as simply as the Hebrew prophet and English poet used it there could have been little or no objection: but it hardly seems well to speak of the Almighty as "enthroned in blazes," whether they be sapphire blazes or any other. But

" — sometimes
Monarchs are less imperative than rhymes."

Line i.—King, 69 : sovereign, 3 : monarch, potentate, saviour : majesty, 33 : splendour, 5 : glory, 4 : exaltation, 3 : dread, awe, might : awful, 18 : tremendous, 13 : dreadful, 11 : dread (adj.), 3 : dreaded, 1 : majestic, 6 : supreme, 2 : supernal, 2 : fearful, severe, glorious, wondrous, divine, resplendent.

Line ii.—The saved, 4 : elect, 4 : saints, 2 : thine, 2 : those who saved shall be, 2 : chosen, 3 : free or freely, 39.

Line iii.—Fount, 45 : fountain, 4 : font, 2 : source, 5 : spring, 3 : head, 1 : pity, 19 : piety, 4 : love, 10 : mercy, 8 : salvation, 4 : blessing, 3 : blessedness, 1 : bliss, 1 : compassion, 2 : kindness, goodness, consolation, clemency, healing.

9. Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa Tuæ viæ:
Ne me perdas illâ die.

¹ It is curious to find here in one couplet the seeming origin not only of Mr. Taylor's expression, but of the lines in the well-known hymn—

"Where angel hosts adore Thee
And tremble as they gaze."

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," like many other books which had an enormous circulation at their first publishing, is now comparatively little read; but some will still remember how the dying St. Clare murmurs these words, and how the authoress in a note quotes one of Dr. Coles' versions, and says, "These lines have been thus rather inadequately translated."¹ Rather or very inadequate indeed are many versions besides the American physician's: the first difficulty is to find a good word for *pie*, since it is now hardly possible to use "pious" with the Rosarists. The idea is of course carried on from the *fons pietatis* of the last verse, and is therefore literally *pitiful*, *compassionate*; but it has always been rendered by epithets somewhat more general than these, and it would indeed be difficult to find a literal and admissible translation. Of those which actually have been used, *good* is perhaps the best and most susceptible of the required notion: *kind*, *sweet*, *gentle*, are all unsatisfactory, all have about them an irreverent familiarity unless used with the utmost care²: and perhaps it would be on the whole better to omit any epithet, for which there is no real need. Such as *blest* and *holy* of course introduce a new idea, and are objectionable on that account. Nor should such boldness be allowed as that of Mr. Brownell, 1847, who replaces

¹ The version quoted is the first, and must therefore have been quoted from its publication in the "Newark Advertiser" in 1847. "Uncle Tom" first appeared I think in 1852.

² "God infinitely condescends, man must not infinitely presume," are the words of solemn warning used on this subject in some Notes on the Appendix to H.A.M. in the "Literary Churchman" for 12th December, 1868. A reply to this was written by the late Dr. Dykes, which was again rejoined to in February and March, 1869, by three most valuable papers "On Hymns." To these it would have been well if more attention had been paid by subsequent hymnologists.

the petition *Recordare Jesu pie* by the assurance *Jesu, Thou hast not forgot.*

In the second line a new meaning has been suggested for the *via* by one of the latest American translators, Dr. Franklin Johnson, 1884. "To a Romanist," he says, "the signification is clear. He has heard much of the *via dolorosa* through which our Saviour bore His cross. . . . To the Romanist the *way* of Christ is a conception as definite as is His *cup* to the Protestant. I have no doubt that Thomas de Celano was thinking of the *via dolorosa* when he wrote the Hymn, and that he considered it a symbol of all the sufferings which the Son of God endured." It is a pleasing theory, but far-fetched, and requires proof which it has not got: there is, for instance, no proof that the phrase *via dolorosa* was in use so early, and Farrar indeed says ("Life of Christ," p. 691, note, ed. Cassell), "the so-called *Via dolorosa* does not seem to be mentioned earlier than the fourteenth century." It will be better to retain the older meaning: though even in the application of this there has been some uncertainty: for the *via* is not our Lord's way to earth or *from* earth, but *upon* earth, and further still, the whole of that way: not His Incarnation or Crucifixion exclusively, but His whole course

"From the poor manger to the bitter cross":

as an American writer, John Mason Brown, has it—

"For me Thou sharedst the lot of men."

And so most English writers have taken it; though if, as many have done, the word *way* is itself to be used, it must be explained in some manner; Archbishop Trench, for

example, is hardly intelligible to a mere English reader—

"Jesus, Lord, remember, pray,
I the cause was of Thy way, ¹
 Do not lose me on that day":

and a Scotch version, Dr. Robertson's, is unintelligible with another word, and awkward besides—

"Jesus, call to mind how knowing
 My sad journey caused *Thy going*,
 So come that day, mercy shewing":

but Mr. D. T. Morgan is good—

"Remember, Jesu Lord, I pray,
 For me Thou wentest on the way,
 Lest Thou shouldst lose me on that day."

So is Dr. Stryker—

"Christ, in pity think, I pray,
 'Twas I caused Thine earthly way,
 Doom us not upon that day,"

except that the word *doom* is narrowed in sense.

The word *travels*, used by the Rosarists, would seem unobjectionable—

"Pious Jesu, call to mind
 Thy travels for my good designed;
 Grant I may that day mercy find."

However, there are others, chiefly Americans (except Dr. Wallace and Dr. Irons, whose line of the "wondrous incarnation" will be remembered), who have in one or other of

¹ Mr. Keble has a somewhat similar use of the word in the "Lyra Innocentium," viii. 10—

" . . . pray that your way
 Be not in winter wild, nor on the Sabbath day."

the modes already stated narrowed the meaning of the *via* :
thus Dr. Wallace has—

"Jesus, think, I now implore Thee,
That for my sake Mary bore Thee;
Pity me who stand before Thee."

Erastus Benedict again writes—

"Jesus, cradled in a manger,
For my sake on earth a stranger,
Save me in that day of danger":

Mr. Blake, 1856, has—

"For me Thou wert a mortal made":

while finally a curious version in the "[R.] Catholic World"
(New York, May, 1873), written in triplets with a magnificent disregard of rhyme, has expressed the same idea differently still in this odd chronological line—

"Mighty Monarch, O remember
That blest day of blest December,
'Twas for me the Virgin bore Thee."

The version in Littell's "Living Age," Boston, U.S.A., 26th
January, 1867, also probably refers to the Incarnation—

"Think how, dear Lord, Thou didst resign
The glories of Thy state divine,
That Thou mightst make those glories mine."

On the other hand, James Dymock, 1687, has perhaps,
though not certainly, intended the Crucifixion—

"Jesus sweet, remember I
Am the cause Thou camest to die;
Damn me not eternally":

the later Office for the Dead has in one of its very few original stanzas taken it so more certainly—

“O Jesus sweet, remember, pray,
That I caused Thee Thy life to pay;
Destroy me not on that great day,”

and the Rev. John Anketell of New York, most certainly of all—

“Jesu blest, in pity think
Thou for me death's cup didst drink,
Let me not to ruin sink.”

Mackellar's line also is, “For me Thou gavest Thy life away”; but Mr. Copeland's is vague; its interpretation depends upon the meaning of “here,” whether it be the strict one *here* or the laxer *hither*—

“O remember, Jesu dear,
'Twas for me Thou journeyedst here;
Leave me not to perish there”:

the use of “there” in the strict meaning may perhaps show that “here” also is strict, but there cannot be certainty.¹

It is unadvisable in the third line to give up the translation of *perdas* by *lose*. The idea in the original is so clearly taken from the Vulgate version of St. John xviii. 9, “non *perdidi* ex eis quenquam,” that the corresponding idea and word from our version should be used, and to substitute

¹ The Rev. E. W. L. Davies, a translator of 1881, reads—

“Remember, Holy Jesu, pray,
That 'tis for me Thou art ‘the Way’”:

this can hardly have been intended for a literal version, though one use of the word *Via* has suggested the other in a somewhat curious manner.

such a line as that above quoted, *Damn me not eternally*, seems quite wrong. This mistaken notion is luckily not very common; *do not lose me* is a frequent translation, and a few writers, as Archdeacon Rowan and the anonymous "Messenger of the Sacred Heart," have put *keep me* instead of it, referring of course to "those that Thou gavest Me I have kept"—

"O holy Jesu, think I pray,
For me was trod Thy thorny way,
And keep me through that fearful day."

—Rowan.

"Jesus, 'twas my debt to pay
Thou didst wend Thy weary way;
Keep me on that dreadful day."

—"Sacred Heart."

In connection with the last quotation it may be noticed that the Rheims New Testament as well as ours reads, "those whom Thou gavest Me I have kept."

On the whole, the versions which can be marked for thorough praise, besides some of those already given, are not very many: an American is one—

"O loving Jesus, think on me,
Though of Thy woes the cause I be,
And lose me not that day from Thee,"

—"Round Table," 1867.

and the Rev. R. C. Singleton in the "Anglican Hymn-book" is also to be commended—

"For me, good Jesu, think, I pray,
Thou once didst tread Thy bitter way;
O let me not be lost that day."

Patrick Carey's version is on other lines altogether, but very good if literalness be not expected—

"Christ, remember in that day
I'm Thy sheep though gone astray;
Leave me not to wolves a prey."

Now, as far as possible, to tabulate: in doing which, as in some other cases, I find that other versions are so very variable as to force me to keep myself to the literal ones.

Line i.—Jesus or Jesu, 44: Lord, 16: Saviour, 4: Christ, 1: sweet, 7: good, 6: dear, 6: holy, 6: kind, 4: blest or blessed, 3: gentle, 2: loving, 2: merciful, tender, piteous: glorious.

Line ii.—Way, 17: path, 3: travels, 1: lot, course, journey, sojourn: weary, 4: bitter, 3: toilsome, thorny: saving.

Line iii.—(*Deprecations*) lose, 12: forsake, 4: forget, spurn, destroy, damn: (*petitions*) save, 5: spare, 4: keep, 3.

10. Quærens me, sedisti lassus:
Redemisti, crucem passus:
Tantus labor non sit cassus!

In the multitude of commentators there is not always certainty, though still it may be a bold thing to differ therefrom: Daniel, for example, says, "procul dubio, tangit poeta locum Joann. iv. 6": but I can hardly think that the reference in this observation is so narrow as simply to the sitting of our Lord on Jacob's well: in what way did He seek us then more than at any other of His times of rest, unless it be said (which is hardly at present applicable) that it was the first extension of His mission beyond the Jews?

Though these His times of rest may be perhaps, so to say, typified by the rest at Sychar, the allusion in the Hymn is surely to them all, follows on the *via* of the last verse, and taken together with that is as if a man should say, "all Thy journeys on earth were for me—even in Thy resting Thou soughtest me." It is true that among the translators only those who professedly write paraphrase have distinctly expressed the allusion so commonly supposed to exist; but this very fact that in a paraphrase it is brought out shows that it is usually imagined to be there. Thus Dr. Husenbeth,

"Thou soughtest me at Sychar's well,
How great Thy torments who shall tell,
My heavy debt to pay,"

Mr. Abrahall—

"Seeking me the journey dreary
Troddst Thou, at the well satst weary,"

while Dean Stanley by his use of *the noonday heat* shows that "and it was about the sixth hour" was in his mind—

"Thou in search of me didst sit
Weary with the noonday heat."

The only similar versions in triplets which I have seen are the curiously irregular one mentioned before—

"Seeking me beside the fountain
Thou didst rest Thee, to the mountain
For my sake Thou didst betake Thee,"

and this American one—

"By the well-side weary lying,
On the cross all pain defying,
Be not vain such love undying."

—"Somniator," *Philad.*, 1859.

Drummond is altogether exceptional in apparently referring the line to the agony in Gethsemane—

“ In search of me Thou full of pain
Didst sweat blood, death on cross sustain ;
Let not these sufferings be in vain.”¹

On the other hand, many translators have given up altogether the idea of sitting or resting, and substituted either none at all, or else one identical with or akin to that of the last verse—in fact, exactly opposite to the true meaning, unless they took the various reading *venisti*. The Moravian, “ C.F.R.,” 1837, has done more even than this—substituted a quite new verse, idea and all—

“ Look on me of sin convicted,
To my soul what Thee afflicted
By Thy Spirit be depicted.”

Mr. Copeland’s line shews this error more plainly than any—

“ Me Thy weary wandering sought,
Me Thy cross and passion bought ;
Be not all that toil for nought,”

but it is a very common one, for more than thirty instances of it are to be found : good examples of such translations are these—

“ Thou didst suffer grief and pain
By Thy cross to wash my stain ;
Let not all Thy toil be vain.”

—J. W. Thomas, 1867.

¹ One is almost tempted to think that there must be or have been a various reading *sudasti*, though then *sanguinem* would seem necessary ; but I can find no trace of it.

"Faint and weary Thou hast sought me,
On the cross of suffering bought me;
Shall such grace be vainly brought me?"

—*Dr. Irons.*

"Me Thou didst seek with steps of pain,
For me the shameful cross sustain;
Saviour, shall toil like this be vain?"

—*O., 1825.*

"Me Thy wearied limbs have sought,
Me Thy cross and passion bought;
Shall such pains be all for nought?"

—*Canon Bright.*

While two American writers, Mr. Henry Macdonald and Dr. Coles, appear to have, so to say, exaggerated the true idea by these verses—

"Thou'st *fallen* wayworn me to gain,
Hast bought me by Thy cross and pain;
Labour so great be not in vain."

—*Macdonald.*

"Seeking me Thou weary *sankest*,
All my cup of trembling drankest,
Nor from death to save me shrankest."

—*Coles.*

It is indeed remarkable how very few, if any, versions can be found which give what I must still consider as the exact force of the original: perhaps all that can be said is that such an one as this, in itself good, may be thought not to exclude it—

"Weary satst Thou seeking me,
Diedst redeeming on the tree;
Not in vain such labour be."

—*Mrs. Charles.*

Other points which demand notice are that the force of *tantus* as "*so great*," labour, that is, such as that described,

should not be omitted, as, for example, this verse omits it—

"Weary wert Thou seeking me,
Sufferedst for me on the tree;
Let Thy toil not fruitless be,"

—H. W. Lloyd.

and that what is referred to in *crucem passus* is the actual crucifixion, as is plainly shown by *redemisti*; Canon Macilwaine is therefore wrong in referring it as he thus does to the bearing the cross—

"Me Thou soughtest weary, worn,
Bending 'neath Thy cross didst mourn;
Was such labour vainly borne?"

There is, however, little objection (unless as not very literal) to introducing the idea of the divine shedding of blood, though it is not common. Father Aylward and Dr. Dobbin do so, and two writers in the "Lamp," 1856, 1859, most distinctly of all in the unique lines, "Let not that blood be shed for nought," "Let not Thy blood be shed in vain."

The expression of the Rosarists is unique and rather poetical, though somewhat indeterminate—

"Thou satst down weary seeking me,
Thou climbst the cross my soul to free;
Let not such labour fruitless be,"

and Professor C. M. Dodd's first two lines are also poetical—

"Seeking me Thy feet were worn
Me to save Thy flesh was torn;
Was such suffering vainly borne?"

Among those already quoted are some of the best versions ;

the great beauty of Lord Macaulay's paraphrase must not, however, be omitted—

"Though I plead not at Thy throne
Aught that I for Thee have done,
Do not Thou unmindful be
Of what Thou hast borne for me,
Of the wandering, of the scorn,
Of the scourge and of the thorn.
Jesus, hast Thou borne the pain,
And hath all been borne in vain?"

The "Bona Mors" paraphrase represents part of this verse by a triplet with a very curious expression—

"In such dire anguish and distressful pain
Angels did weep and *heart-broke rocks complain* :
Thy labours were immense, O let them not be vain."

Line i.—Derivatives of to seek, 51 : of to sit, 12 : faint, 5 : tired, 2 : dreary.

Line ii.—Cross, 43 : tree, 8.

Line iii.—Toil, 12 : labour, 9 : pain, 5 : passion, 5 : suffering, 4 : anguish, 3 : agony, 2 : travail, 2 : pangs, 2 : vain, 23 : fruitless, 7 : wasted, 4 : lost, 3 : defeated, 2 : crossed, 1.

11. Juste Judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis,
Ante diem rationis.

Like other lines in the Hymn, this first line is doubtless taken from the Vulgate, in Ps. xciv. 1, "Deus ultionum"; retained as the title of the Psalm in our English Prayer-book version. This has been from the first translated as in the familiar beginning, "O Lord God, to Whom vengeance

belongeth," and we may take such to be the primary meaning here. There is one version by Mr. R. G. Loraine in the libretto to Novello's edition of Mozart's Requiem Mass, 1854, which gives it very literally—

"Judge to Whom revenge pertaineth,
Pardon grant me while love reigneth,
Ere consuming wrath remaineth":

"The Lamp" of 1859 has also—

"Just Judge of vengeance *solely Thine*."

But most translators have taken the passing on of the interpretation to the subject now in hand, according to Isaiah's verse, xxxv. 4, "Your God will come with vengeance," as thus—

"Thou just Judge of vengeance due,
Pardon of my sins renew,
Ere the reckoning day ensue."

—*Dymock*.

"Righteous Judge of righteous doom,
Dole Thy pardon's countless sum,
Ere that day of reckoning come."

—*Mr. Copeland*.

"Just Judge of vengeance, grant, I pray,
That mine offence be purged away
Before the dreadful reckoning day."

—*Dean Disney*.

Miss Cleveland expands her idea thus—

"O dread Judge, Whose just decision
Fixeth every soul's condition,
Ere that day grant me remission."

And in another style Dr. Coles has—

"Just Judge of vengeance in the end,
Now in the accepted time befriend;
My sins O graciously remit,
Ere Thou judicially shalt sit."

These are, so far, among the best of the more literal versions: other versions, of course, there are which so far as this first line is concerned are not unsatisfactory, but throughout they satisfy not: as where a writer begins with such a line as *Mighty Judge of retribution*, and going on successfully it may be with *Grant the gift of absolution*, is forced to close with *Ere the day of restitution*, or *execution*, or *dissolution*, or even *prosecution*—a lame and impotent conclusion. I know that an apology is due for lapsing into such a style of fault-finding: but it is hard to resist the temptation; and a man who deliberately chooses the difficult double rhymes when he might choose the easier single ones has not so much right to claim forbearance unless it be his firm conviction that he has no right to abandon the exact metre of the original; and even then it may be answered that the necessity is but imaginary, and the thought therefore nothing more than a delusion.

Among the single-rhymed versions, if some latitude be given in the first line, there are other good renderings; for example—

"Thou just Judge of wrath severe,
Grant my sins remission here,
Ere Thy reckoning day appear."

—Dean Alford.

"Judge of Justice, Thee I pray,
Grant me pardon while I may,
Ere that awful reckoning day."

—Isaac Williams.

"Judge, Thy vengeance O delay,
Grant me pardon here I pray,
Now before that reckoning day."

—*Erastus Benedict.*

Two of Dr. Coles's also are commendable—

"Righteous Judge Who wilt repay,
Grant me pardon ere that day
Of decision and dismay."

"O my Judge, forgive, forget,
Cancel my tremendous debt
Ere the sun of grace shall set."

Patrick Carey departed from his original to a considerable extent—

"Though my sins to vast sums mount,
Yet Thy mercies them surmount;
O ne'er call them to account,"

and other rather singular versions are Lord Roscommon's, who was the first to use the word *cancel*, in which Father Aylward and Dr. Coles afterwards followed him—

"Thou *Whom avenging powers obey*,
Cancel my debt too great to pay,
Before the sad accounting day,"

Mr. Thomas's—

"Judge of just avenging doom,
Pardon give, *and take me home*
Ere the day of reckoning come,"

and Mr. Hutton's in the "Spectator"—

"*Vengeance, Lord, then be Thy mission*,
Now of sin grant free remission
Ere that day of inquisition."

The third line supplies another of the many instances of Thomas of Celano's use of Scriptural language. *Ratio* is the word used by the Vulgate in the parables both of the Unmerciful Servant (Matt. xviii.) and of the Talents (Matt. xxv.). The allusion is of course directly to the latter of the two parables, where the original phrase is "venit dominus . . . et posuit rationem." The corresponding English word everyone will remember, "the lord of those servants cometh and reckoneth with them," and it has happened here what has not always happened in such cases, that the word *reckoning* has been very often adopted in the versions. Curiously enough too the Revised New Testament has adopted the identical participial form, altering the translation from *reckoneth* to *making a reckoning*.

Lord Macaulay, singularly, has left out the verse—peradventure it was an oversight.

The paraphrase of the "Orthodox Journal" is—

"In mercy grant a pardon free,
Avenger of iniquity!
Before that last tremendous hour
When all shall bend beneath Thy power."

Line i.—Judge, all but universal : avenger, dispenser : just, 21 : righteous, 19 : dread, great, severe, mighty, supreme, impartial, inexorable : vengeance, 8 : retribution, 6 : decision, 3 : recompense, 2 : decree, 1 : penalty, 1.

Line ii.—Remission, 14 : absolution, 9 : pardon, 7 : forgiveness, 2.

Line iii.—(Day of) reckoning, 19 : accounting, 5 : execution, 4 : inquisition, 3 : assizes or assize, 3 : retribu-

tion, 2 : restitution, 2 : dissolution, 2 : prosecution,
1 : decision, division, revision, exaction, revealing,
declaring, review, punishment, agony.

12. Ingemisco, tanquam reus :
Culpâ rubet vultus meus :
Supplici parce, Deus.

“ Reus ” in the first line is not merely one against whom a charge may be brought, but one against whom a charge actually is brought : for the soul looks upon herself as already accused, if not, so to say without irreverence, “ committed for trial ” ; this is shewn by the line *quem patronum rogaturus*. But there are very few translators (of those who are categorical : many as usual are vague and indistinct) who have thus marked out the word : one is Dr. Dobbin—

“ I groan like one convict of blame ;
Blushes my cheek with reddest shame ;
God, spare the soul that pleads His Name,”

Mr. D. T. Morgan—

“ As one condemned I sigh apace ;
All scarlet is my guilty face ;
Lord, to a suppliant grant Thy grace,”

while others are two American writers, Dr. Coles—

“ Like one convinced of heinous deed,
I groan, I weep, I blush, I plead ;
Lord, spare me in that hour of need,”

and Mr. Robert M'Corkle—

“ As if condemned I groan and sigh ;
Shame burns my cheek, grief fills my eye ;
God, hear my supplicating cry.”

Of these, the three last are in one respect the best, since an important idea like that of Christ's intercession should hardly be introduced, as by Dr. Dobbin, where the original has it not : and Mr. Morgan's is perhaps as good a version as can be found.

With regard to the second line, we must remember that the soul is *still in the body* while she speaks : forgetfulness of this led "O." in the "Christian Remembrancer," 1825, greatly struck with the seeming absurdity of attributing blushes to a disembodied spirit, to offer the following singular apology—

"Abashed and guilty would I kneel,
In blushes deep my shame conceal,
Could ghosts thus utter what they feel."

Crashaw has expanded the idea in the striking lines—

"The conscious colours of my sin
Are red without and pale within";

an expansion which in other forms has been adopted by Mr. Copeland—

"Self-condemned I sob full sore,
Pale with guilt or reddening o'er;
Spare, great God, Thy suppliant poor,"

and by Mr. Nevin of Philadelphia, though the absoluteness of his line, and still more of his first, make the version not very clear ; nor is the phraseology of the first line worthy of praise—

"Guilty groans from dust ascending,
Shame and fear their colours blending,
Spare, O God, the suppliant bending."

The two ways of turning the last line are to retain the impersonality of the original *supplici*anti, or to define it by

adding *me*, or in some like manner : there are good versions of both kinds, and it is a matter on which opinions may very well be allowed to differ ; still, however, perhaps the former plan is preferable—it is better on the whole to be literal while you can. As to such an ending as “thy suppliant groaning,” or “moaning,” this must be avoided at all risks : and more certainly still, if one of these words has been used in the first line, the other must not be rhymed with it in the third. I am indeed not very sure that they are now sufficiently dignified to be used at all.

The following versions, if the looseness be past over of some of the first lines, are good—

“Groanings from my heart outbreacking,
Blushes deep my shame bespeaking,
I Thy mercy, Lord, am seeking.”

—*Chandler.*

“Sighs and tears my sorrow speak ;
Shame and grief are on my cheek ;
Mercy, mercy, Lord, I seek.”

—*Dr. Schaff.*

“Like one in guilt I groan with shame ;
My face is crimson for my blame ;
Spare, Lord, I call upon Thy Name.”

—*Macdonald.*

“Deep my guilty spirit sigheth ;
Shame my cheek with crimson dyeth ;
Spare the suppliant when he crieth.”

—*A. C. Kendrick.*

A few renderings noticeable in different ways as varying from the ordinary type are these—

“Sore I groan, a culprit base ;
Sense of sin is shame of face ;
Spare me, God, I kneel for grace.”

—*Canon Bright.*

"Me my culprit heart accuses;
Inmost guilt my face suffuses;
Turn, O Lord, and *heal my bruises.*"

—*Justice O'Hagan.*

"Lo I groan beneath the load,
Conscience-stricken by Thy rod;
Spare Thy suppliant, O my God."

—*Lord Lindsay.*

While Mr. Robinson has made a singular confusion of metaphor; blushes burn a face, not drown it—this should be predicated of tears—

"Sighing o'er my helpless case,
Guilty blushes drown my face;
Spare, O spare me, God of grace."

Sylvester's somewhat paraphrastic version is—

"Sighing I lament my sin,
Tears without and fears within;
Break not, dear God, this bruised reed."

Line i.—Groan, 32 : sigh, 5 : grieve, 2 : mourn, 2 : wail, sob. Guilty or guilt, 20 : guilty creature, 2 : guilty thing, 1 ; culprit, 7 : condemned, 4 : convicted, 2 : arraigned, wretched, malefactor.

Line ii.—Shame, 22 : guilt, 11 : sin, 3. Blush (verb or noun), 25 : flush, 3 : burn, 5 : dye, 5 : sting, 1. Crimson, 7 : scarlet, 2 : red, 1. Face, 18 : cheek, 10 : *each* cheek, 1 : brow, 4 : feature, 2 : visage, 1.

Line iii.—Spare, 39 : hear, 5 : pity, 3 : (grant or give) grace, 6 : mercy, 5. Suppliant, 37 : who supplicate, 1 : supplicating cry, 1 : beseecher, 1. God, 24 : Lord, 16 : Jesu, Saviour, Holy One.

13. Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti;
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

We come in this verse to another various reading worthy of notice. There can be no doubt that *Qui Mariam* as here given is the correct reading: but the same Paris Missal mentioned under verse i. reads *Peccatricem*, and as there, so here too, alters the reading without any authority. It used to be held almost, so to say, as an article of faith, that the woman whose anointing of our Lord's feet is recorded in Luke vii. was no other than Mary Magdalene: opinion on this point began to change almost immediately after the Reformation (leading to the omission of St. Mary Magdalene's Day, 22nd July, from the Second Book of King Edward), and has done so more and more till now, and I think it must be said rightly, their identity is almost universally given up. As this latter opinion grew, it would seem that editors (which few men would now do) considered themselves at liberty to alter the text of the Hymn accordingly: but there can surely be no objection to keeping the original reading as showing the old opinion, mistaken though it probably is; any more than there can be in verse i. to keeping *Teste David cum Sibylla*, even if the introduction of the Sibyl to a Christian hymn be thought questionable: and thus those translators, not very many, who have taken *Peccatricem* to turn, must be considered mistaken: their tabulation will as usual be given hereafter. Mr. Russell's doubt on this point has caused the very general line, "Peace Thy love to faith declared": Dr. Coles is inconsistent with himself, for in his original he gives *Mariam*, and yet in two versions he translates *Peccatricem*. These are singular enough to be quoted, though the second, if not the first

also, is almost too general to be called a version at all—

"Thou Who wert of old most gracious
E'en to sinners most audacious,
Is Thy mercy now less spacious?"

"Thou canst darkest stains efface,
Hast made monuments of grace
Of the vilest of the race."

In the Doctor's thirteenth version, a professed paraphrase, there is a rendering of some beauty—

"When Mary Thy forgiveness sought,
Wept, but articulated nought,
Thou didst forgive; didst hear the brief
Petition of the dying thief."

And one more version of his, which must be noticed as the only one to introduce the occasion on which Mary, as supposed, was absolved, is this—

"Thou didst smile on *Mary's unction*,
Tearful love and deep compunction,
On the dying thief's confession."

"To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise"; so said our Saviour to the dying thief, and Paradise is not the same as Heaven; but there are writers who have disregarded this and given such a line as *Thou Who ledst the thief to heaven*, or *Thou didst call the thief to heaven*; though such a one as *To the thief Thou openedst heaven*, or *didst promise heaven* may be passed as only expressing the implied promise of heaven necessarily to succeed paradise, not like the others its actual enjoyment by the thief. The error is an important one, for it involves—or it would involve if it were likely the translators thought what they were writing—

nothing less than a denial of the Intermediate State: to which doctrine the slight attention paid by Protestantism has been and is one of the greatest blemishes of that religious system. Thomas of Celano has hinted at no doctrine in his original, and therefore we are not bound to do so in our translations; but if we do let us at least do like the awkward lines of Mr. Hoskyns-Abrahall, and hint at a correct one—

"Thou to Mary from pollution
Didst pronounce full absolution,
Nor wast to the felon dying
E'en Thy paradise denying."

The third line is a distinct avowal that hope has been given, and it is therefore wrong to turn it into a petition for the giving of hope, as is done by two versions of very opposite character; a Roman Catholic one—

"Thou Who Mary of the garden
And the dying thief didst pardon,
Grant e'en me hope's heavenly guerdon,"

—C. Kent.

and a Presbyterian one—

"Thou didst save the woman pleading,
And the thief beside Thee bleeding;
Grant me hope like pity needing":

—Dr. Macgill.

and to this must be added that the hope still exists, the whole tenor of the verse rests in it: therefore Mr. Cayley in the "Church Times," (*Thou*) *Once to me a hope appearedst*, is also wrong as hinting that the hope is gone. While a mistake of a different kind is in this—

"Thou to Mary gavest remission,
And didst hear the thief's petition;
Hope shall also cheer my vision."

—Dr. Wallace.

"Hope that is seen is not hope ; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for ? " or as the Revised Version, perhaps more strongly still, has it, "who hopeth for that which he seeth ? "

I have been compelled to find fault somewhat liberally, and must now give a few specimens among the best that I can find. The simplest and best form of translation is of course such as follows in this—

"Thou Who Mary hast forgiven,
Heardst the thief with anguish riven,
Me true hope hast also given,"

—Rev. John Anketell, N.Y.

and if it were not for the identity of rhyme in the first and third lines nothing better could be desired. Still this license has sometimes been used by writers of authority, as by Archbishop Trench—

"Thou Who Mary didst forgive,
And Who badst the robber live,
Hope to me dost also give,"

and the verse may therefore be allowed. Another good one—with the same license of rhyme—is Mrs. Charles's—

"Mary was by Thee forgiven,
To the thief Thou openedst heaven,
Hope to me too Thou hast given,"

and two of a somewhat different kind, but both praiseworthy, are these—

"'Twas Thou madest Mary free from sin,
The dying thief true life to win,
And me gavest hope to theirs akin."

—"Round Table," N.Y., 1867.

"Thou didst Mary's guilt remove,
 Thou the robber's refuge prove,
 Rests my hope too in Thy love."

—*Canon Macilwaine.*

The doubling of "Thou" is here not without beauty: and Mr. Lea has even tripled it—

"Thou Who sad Mary hast forgiven,
 Thou Who the dying thief hast shriven,
 Thou givest me also hope of Heaven."

And yet one or two more must be mentioned because they bring out more clearly than the original the encouragement we are to take from the forgiveness bestowed on Mary and the thief. It is of course the original's meaning, but it is not more prominently put forward than by stating the facts, and most versions have followed in this respect: some, however, have brought it more out, and first of all Patrick Carey, who dwells also on the greatness of the hope—

"Mary and the thief scarce leave
 Sin but Thou dost them receive,
 What hopes hence mayn't I conceive?"

After him the Rosarists very plainly—

"Thy granting Magdalen relief
 And opening heaven to the thief
 Hath with sweet hopes allayed my grief":

and other later ones, as these—

"The Magdalene absolved by Thee,
 The thief saved on the accursed tree,
 How should they not bring hope to me?"

—*R. H. Hutton.*

"Sinful Mary kindly shriven,
And the thief assured of heaven,
Tell me I may be forgiven."

—"The Sacred Heart."

Mrs. Vansittart is altogether singular in introducing the legendary name of the thief from the Gospel of Nicodemus (Ante-Nicene Library, xvi. 187)—

"A pitying ear in mercy lend
As erst to Dismas Thou didst bend
And hope to Magdalen extend."

Lord Roscommon has also what I believe to be a unique version—

"Thou Who wert moved with Mary's grief,
And by absolving of the thief
Hast given me hope, *now give relief.*"

Dr. Coles' latest version in couplets is simple and good—

"Thou Who Mary's heart didst cheer,
And the robber's prayer didst hear,
Hast refused not to bestow
Humble hope on me also."

Line i.—Mary, 50 : Magdalene, 10 : Mary Magdalene, 1 :
Magdalēnē (four syllables¹), 1 : Mary of the
garden (John xix. 41), 1 : adulteress, 1 : harlot

¹ This syllabification, by the way, is quite wrong. The feminine nature of the word gives it a false appearance of correctness : but, in fact, the *e* is not the long *e* of the Greek, but the mere silent terminal of the English, nor to be sounded any more than in the stock cases of Urbane, and the Libertines, and the Nicolaitanes. If it is to be considered Greek, the form *Maria* also should be used : to make half the name English and half Greek is an incongruity. However, good writers have fallen into such an error as this ; cf. Byron—

"Thus Nature played with the stalactites,
And built herself a chapel of the seas."

—"The Island," *iv.* 7.

(an American variation of Dr. Irons), 1 : sinner,
3 : her that sinned, frail one, lost one, sinner
grieving, woman pleading, woman crying.

Line ii.—Thief, 61 : robber, 13 : malefactor, 1 : heaven, 9 :
paradise, 1.

Line iii.—(Hope) hast given, &c., 36 : give, &c. (a prayer), 6.

14. Preces meæ non sunt dignæ :
Sed Tu, bonus, fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne.

There is here another various reading : the Hammerlein Codex has in the second line *bonas*, which Daniel prefers ("placet Haemmerlini lectio"), but I find that hardly any translators have taken it except William Drummond of Hawthornden—

" My prayers imperfect are and weak,
But worthy of Thy grace them make,
And save me from hell's burning lake."

There is indeed one other which reads thus—

" Though my prayers are worthy never,
Make them good by Thine endeavour,
Lest I burn in fire for ever,"

but throughout its whole length it shews such extraordinary ignorance, not only of the Latin but also of the English tongue, that it is unworthy of serious consideration ; in the thirteenth verse it has actually " He *Whom* Mary has forgiven " !¹ There is also one which reads—

¹ Extraordinary as it seems, this is not the only instance of the wretched blunder : a late American version also reads, " Thou *Whom* Mary *gavest* remission," which in one way of looking at it is worse still. A writer so grossly ignorant of English grammar cannot expect to be further noticed.

"My prayers are worthless, weak desires,
 Save as Thy holy love inspires,
 Then snatch me from the eternal fires,"

—R. H. Hutton.

but this is so vague as to be doubtful; another objection, though perhaps hypercritical, might be taken to the use of the verb *snatch*, which means, properly speaking, to take a thing from a place *where it already is*.

The translation of the first line is usually fairly literal, though, of course, some writers have added another word to *prayers*, as Dr. Macgill—

"Vows and prayers can save me never,
 Grace alone can me deliver
 From the fire that burns for ever,"

or an American calling himself *Somniator*—

"All worthless are my prayers and *tears*,
 But be Thou greater than my fears,
 Lest flame consume my endless *years*";

or substituted one for it, as Father Aylward *cry*—

"Worthless though my feeble *cry*,
 Help me, gracious Lord, or I
 Burn in flames that never die,"

or some others *petition*, being particularly useful in its capacity of a rhyme for *perdition*. Dr. Robertson's line is, *Worthless all my tears and turning*; which last word thus used alone without anything to define or explain it, is hardly intelligible—but *this* had to rhyme with *burning*! Others have expanded the idea, as Archdeacon Rowan—

"Unworthy Thee my *purest* prayer,
 Yet, gracious Lord, Thy servant spare,
 Doomed else eternal fire to share,"

or added another, as Dean Disney—

"Worthless my prayers *and deep my shame,*
Yet grant, in honour of Thy Name,
I burn not in the quenchless flame,"

or varied it, as W. R. Williams—

"In my prayer though sin discerning,
Yet, good Lord, in goodness turning,
Save me from the endless burning,"

while Mr. Justice O'Hagan has given it up altogether and changed it thus—

"Nothing worth is mine *endeavour,*
Yet in ruth my soul deliver
From the flame that burns for ever,"

and there is one American writer who restricts the prayers to these particular prayers which the soul is now supposed to be putting up—the actual prayers set before us in the Hymn—

"Lord, I know *these* prayers are vain,
Let Thy heart of mercy deign
Me to save from hellish pain":
—A. M. Rogers.

this hardly can be considered right. Archbishop Benson of Canterbury represents the original by the fine line *Judgment halteth not for weeping.*

The second line is well turned by Dr. Coles thus—

"My prayers are worthless, well I know,
But, good, do Thou Thy goodness shew,
And save me from impending woe,"

which verse, if *unending* were read for *impending*, might be

among the best renderings. One or two others also have like expressions, as Mrs. Charles—

"All unworthy is my prayer,
Gracious One, be gracious there,
From the quenchless fire O spare,"

but on the whole the lines representing this second one are often somewhat indefinite. One American, or rather Canadian, writer has the following, which is worth notice—

"Prayers of mine are worth but spurning,
Yet Thou, *good for ill returning*,
Pluck me from eternal burning":

—S. J. Watson.

the word *pluck*, however, is open to the same objection as that already taken to *snatch*. Mr. W. H. Robinson has this—

"All my prayers are nought and vain,
But Thy grace for nought I claim,
Save from endless burning pain,"

which if his notion that *vain* and *claim* rhymed had been correct, would have been, at least for the two former lines, good.

In the third line I am inclined to think that the use of the word *burn* should be avoided, I mean as employed of the passive agent: it seems to have something about it of an undignified sound rather difficult to explain, and it will be remembered that the compilers of H. A. M. have altered it in Father Caswall's well-known translation of St. Francis Xavier—

"My God, I love Thee, not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor because they who love Thee not
Must burn eternally."

And perhaps one of the best ways of turning the verse, both so as to avoid this word and for other reasons, is something thus—

"My prayers are all unworthy Thee,
Yet of Thy goodness favour me,
Lest endless fire my portion be,"

—H. J. Macdonald.

or thus—

"Though my prayers deserve no hire,
Yet, good Lord, grant my desire,
I may scape eternal fire."

—James Dymock.

The ten-syllable triplet of the "Sacred Heart," 1880, is thus, alluding to Mary Magdalene's prayer—

"Not that my prayers with Thee like power may claim,
But that Thy love and pity are the same
To save us from the everlasting flame."

"The Lamp" of 1856 has a verse containing a curious line—

"Through Thee my thoughts to heaven aspire;
Thy mercy can withstand Thine ire,
And save me from avenging fire."

Mr. Simms' line is also rather singular, *I pray, yet prayer is not my plea*. The Earl of Crawford introduces the word *Gehenna*—

"Worthless are my prayers, I know,
Yet in mercy spare me, so
Shall I scape Gehenna's woe,"

and one other singularity which may be noted is that of a Roman Catholic writer who plainly refers the *ignis, perennis* though it be, to purgatory—

"Worthless though my prayers, benignly
Save me by Thy grace, divinely
Stretched midst *purging* fires supinely."

—Charles Kent.

Morgan has a phrase familiar to a musician, "Thy tender mercy's sake," coinciding with the words of Farrant's anthem—probably not a direct quotation, since Farrant wrote not *mercy's*, but *mercies*'. See N. and Q., 3rd S., iii. 417 for the origin of his words.

At the end of my words upon each verse I have usually given specimens of such translations as seemed to me the best; in the course, however, of those upon this most of such have already been given: yet I will add that of another American, Mr. Robert M'Corkle—

"I for my prayers no merit claim,
Only Thou, Lord, for Thy great name,
Save my poor soul from endless flame,"

and as an example of a good paraphrase one by Mr. James Ross, also of America—

"I know full well no prayer of mine
Is worthy of the ear divine;
But, Thou Who goodness art,
Grant pardon graciously to me,
Lest that I burn eternally—
Thy mercy free impart!"

Line i.—Prayer or prayers, 67: petition, 3: cry, 2: supplication, pleading. Worthless, 28: unworthy, 12: vain, 2: poor, 2: weak, unavailing, imperfect, valueless.

Line ii.—Good, 5: gracious, 4: benign, 2: mild, dear.

Line iii.—Fire or fires, 23: flame or flames, 22: hell, 5: woe, 4: perdition, 3: pain, Gehenna. Endless, 18: eternal, 17: unending, 6: for ever, 6: undying, 3: quenchless, 3: deathless, 2: everlasting, 2: lasting, 1. Burning, 11.

15. Inter oves locum præsta,
Et ab hædis me sequestra,
'Statuens in parte dextra.

No reader will need to be reminded of the source of the simile of the sheep and goats: but it is necessary to notice that Thomas of Celano's interpretation of the "nations" divided into the classes thus named, is that which has perhaps always been the most common, that they are the whole of mankind who have ever lived. Not only in this verse, but in the next, as is there mentioned, is this allusion to the end of St. Matthew's 25th chapter found. The present pages are indeed not a commentary upon that chapter; still it must be pointed out that the narrower interpretation is the correct one. The "nations" are described with a definite article which, inserted of course in the Revised Version of the New Testament, is unfortunately left out in the Authorized Version, as it was in all former ones: and "the nations" thus particularized are in Hellenistic Greek the Gentiles, *i.e.*, the heathen. This is now so well-known a fact that if not for preconceived notions the true meaning must already have been accepted: and all internal evidence is in its favour. The order of the discourse clearly is that the parables which have gone before represent the judgement of Christians—they are to be judged by their use of the talents committed to them, and the heathen, to whom no talents have ever been committed, by their works of charity only. Also, if the "nations" are all men, who then are "these My brethren"? if the King addresses all righteous, and speaks to them of "these My brethren," whom can He intend? I have never seen this question answered.

But to pass this by, and to take the words as they stand

before us: one would think that in the face of the text "He shall set the sheep on the right hand, but the goats on the left," there could be no hesitation in translating the verse literally. Yet for some strange reason not a few writers seem loth to use the word *goats* even where they use that *sheep*. They might have had the authority of Ben Jonson's "Elegy on Lady Digby"—

"Indeed she is not dead, but laid to sleep
In earth till the last trump awake the sheep
And goats together, whither they must come
To hear their Judge and His eternal doom."

Two writers, on the other hand, have used *goats* without *sheep*, and two for *sheep* have substituted *lambs*: much as Wiclif of old, perhaps it may be said, substituted *kids* for *goats*. Another turning not uncommon is to make the necessary distinction by contrasting the words *flock* and *herd*, usually of course with some epithet, though there is one case where they are used alone, thus—

"Midst the flock O make my station,
From the herd in separation;
At Thy right be my vocation."

—Dr. Krauth, *Philadelphia*.

One writer has the following line, as if sheep never had horns (this, however, is a little hypercritical, for there is no doubt that most men's first idea of a sheep is of a hornless beast)—

"Shepherd, midst Thy flock enfold me,
Nor with *hornèd* herd behold me,
Having on Thy right enrolled me."

This is by Mr. Charles Kent. One or two other singularities are these—

"Mongst the sheep grant me a stand,
Drive me from the goats' cursed band,
Placing me on Thy right hand."

—Patrick Carey.

"Mid Thy sheep be my place given,
Far the goats from me be driven,
At Thy right hand fixed in heaven,"

—W. R. Williams.

where the expression, strangely enough, is the exact reverse of Carey's. Another—

"Deliver me from *wolves* so bold
And find me place amid the fold
Of lambs who on Thy right are told."

—Mrs. Vansittart.

Yet another—

"Grant me my place among the sheep,
Far from the goats my footsteps keep,
And where the *left* eternal weep,"

—R. H. Hutton.

where *left* perhaps may be a misprint for *lost*.

Archbishop Trench well shows the simple style which here, as always, should be preferred—

"Mid Thy sheep my place command
From the goats far off to stand;
Set me, Lord, at Thy right hand":

Mr. D. T. Morgan also is good—

"Grant me among Thy sheep to stand,
Far from the goats, the evil band,
And stablish me at Thy right hand":

an addition to the third line by Mr. Edward Slosson, of America, is noticeable—

"From the goats my lot divide,
 With Thy lambs a place provide
 On Thy right *and near Thy side*":

and of the paraphrases, I think the best I have seen is Mr. Ross's, an American also—

"Among the sheep O let me stand
 In happy lot at Thy right hand,
 Atoning Lamb of God;
 Divided from the goats may I
 Within Thy fold securely lie,
 My last, my blest abode."

Line i.—Sheep and goats, 50 : sheep (alone), 7 : *Thy* sheep, 37 : lambs, 2 : right-hand flock, 1 : the flock, 1 : Thy flock, 1 : Thy friends, 1 : chosen (subst.) 1 : chosen (adj.), 3 : blessed (adj.), 2 : blessed (subst.), 1 : favoured, holy, elected.

Line ii.—Goats (alone), 3 : he-goats, 1 : goat-like race, 1 : "goatish" band, 2 : unwashed and sordid, 1 : unhallowed band, unholy band, brutish band, convicted band, ungodly band, condemned band, sinful band : apostate race, wicked race : accursed line : guilty nation : cursed (subst.), vile, dark, foul, lost, evil.

Line iii.—Right hand, 45 : right side, 2 : right (alone), 15 : Thy side.

16. Confutatis maledictis,
 Flammis acribus addictis :
 Voca me, cum benedictis.

What chiefly requires notice in this verse is that the *eternity* of punishment is not, as in the fourteenth verse, exprest in it; and though it is not to be doubted of—I am

no universalist—still it is well not to put it in the English when it is not to be found in the Latin. It has not unfrequently been done: Sylvester, for instance, the earliest translator, has this—

"That, the cursed being cast
Into flames that ever last,
I with the blessed may abide":

Carey, his next successor (except Crashaw the paraphrast), singularly omits the verse altogether: but Drummond again writes—

"When that the reprobates are all
To *everlasting* flames made thrall,
O to Thy chosen, Lord, me call":

and a good many other translators have followed the example. But that it has sometimes been regarded as a thing indifferent may be seen from this fact, that writers like Dr. Coles and Mr. Benedict, who have produced more versions than one, have inserted the eternity in some and not in others. "Bitter" perhaps may best translate "*acribus*," or "devouring": "raging," or any such word, though perhaps not actually too strong, is too strong to be used.

It would be thought that there could be no difficulty in finding the meaning of the Latin, in seeing that the *maledicti* and *benedicti* are the *cursed* and *blessed* of the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, Thomas of Celano carrying on from his last verse his use of the description in that chapter, and those very words of course being used in the Vulgate. And indeed most writers have taken them so: but Archdeacon Rowan of Ardfert has this singular verse—

"Put *mine* accusers all to shame,
Appoint their place in torment flame,
But call me with Thy saints by name,"

as if perchance among the two participles he had taken the wrong one to represent the noun substantive.

In the versions of Sylvester and Drummond above quoted, and in others beside, the word *confutatis* is left untranslated. This is a piece of carelessness which the translators probably allowed themselves from failing to perceive its full force: this I imagine to be not simply that the cursed are put aside, but that they are put down by words—in short, “confuted”: that is to say, that the divine answer, “Inasmuch as ye did it not, &c.,” was in Thomas of Celano’s mind. It would not be easy to express this fully in English, unless by the use of this very word *confuted*: few if any translators have adopted it in literal versions, except in one somewhat unmeaning line which I have seen, *When hard speeches are confuted*. Nor indeed is it necessary to do so; but at least the word, having a fuller meaning than many writers seem to have found upon the surface, must not be totally omitted.

There seems hardly anything else to be said before as usual specimens are given. “O.,” in the “Christian Remembrancer,” as he does also with the 8th verse, expands this into two, thus—

“And when Thy voice to endless woes
Shall send the host of rebel foes,
Let mercy to my ears disclose

In accents mild this welcome doom,
Ye blessed of my Father, come,
And find in heaven prepared your home.”

A good translation is this, though hardly simple enough by reason of the duplication of epithets on the flame—

“When the accurst are put to shame,
Banished to fierce devouring flame,
Then with Thy blessed call my name.”

—R. M'Corkle.

Better is this—

"When the accurst are put to shame,
And sentenced to the bitter flame,
Then with the blessed call my name."

—Hy. Macdonald.

These are both American ; and a third American, Dr. Schaff, is again very near to both—

"When the curst are put to shame,
Cast into devouring flame,
With the blest then call my name."

Mr. Russell "runs on" from the last verse, *they* being the *guilty nation*—

"When they are before Thee driven,
To the fires of anguish given,
Raise me with the blest to heaven,"

and as other English specimens Isaac Williams and Dean Alford may be added—

"When the lost, to silence driven,
To devouring flames are given,
Call me with the blest to heaven."

—Williams.

"When Thy voice in wrath shall say,
Cursed ones, depart away,
Call me with the blest, I pray."

—Alford.

One Roman Catholic writer has substituted darkness for fire—

"When the awful words of doom
Hurl Thy foes to nether gloom,
Bid me with Thy children come,"

—"Sacred Heart."

and another chains—

“When Thy justly kindled ire
Binds the lost in chains of fire,
Call me to Thy chosen choir.”

—*Father Aylward.*

And Canon Macilwaine also is noticeable—

“When the cursed, dire opprest,
Sink in flames to deep unrest,
Deign to call me with the blest.”

Here, as in most verses, some translations are to be found which differ rather singularly from the common type ; thus another American version by Mr. Lea—

“When the accursed shall hear the knell
That dooms them to the fires of hell,
Call me among the blest to dwell.”

where the introduction of such an idea as that conveyed in *knell* is hardly justifiable—the word might almost as well have been *bell* at once, as R. D. Williams actually did write—

“When on the day of dole
Death-bells of nations toll.”

Two other curious versions are these—

“And when those *who Thee reviled*
Are to flaming depths exiled,
O receive me as a child.”

—*A. M. Rogers.*

“When to penal fire are driven
Those *who would not be forgiven*,
Call me with Thy saints to heaven.”

—*Worsley.*

Mackellar's line is, “When *dies* the furious flame apace” :

a line which is peculiar and unintelligible : how it was got out of the Latin is not plain.

Lastly for paraphrase Mr. Ross shall again be resorted to—

“When the accurst confuted find
 Their souls to sharpest flames consigned,
 Then blessed call Thou me ;
 Redeemed and ransomed, O how great
 The bliss that on my soul shall wait
 Through all eternity.”

Line i.—Accursed or cursed, 33 : wicked, 8 : lost, 7 : damned, 3 : condemned, 3 : doomed, 2 ; reprobate, 2 : foes, 2 : vile, guilty, sinners, scorners.

Line ii.—Flame or flames, 40 : fire, fiery, 9 : hell, 5 : burning, 3 : torment, tormenting, 5 : devouring, 6 : fierce, 6 : penal, 2 : direful, scorching, piercing, bitter, keen : eternal, everlasting, never-ending, never-dying, quenchless.

Line iii.—Blessed or blest, 34 : saints, 9 : child, children, 2 : elect, chosen, ransomed, saved, redeemed.

17. Oro, supplex et acclinis,
 Cor contritum quasi cinis,
 Gere curam mei finis.

This last verse of the Hymn seems on the whole to have tried translators as much as any : not that there is any difficulty in the actual rendering of the words, for the two first lines at any rate are extremely clear, and there is hardly a possibility of mistake : but it seems not to have been found easy to put the simple and pathetic Latin into equally pathetic and simple English. There are indeed few versions to be found at the same time literal, simple, and correct—for there has been a very common failure, which will be

mentioned directly, to see the full meaning of the last line. One of the best is Isaac Williams—

"Suppliant, fallen, low I bend,
My bruised heart to ashes rend,
Care Thou, Lord, for my last end":

the mistake is in the confusion of metaphor in the second line—you cannot turn a thing into *ashes* by *rending* it: what the original does is to *compare* the heart to ashes, but not to state how it may be imagined to have *become* such. Mr. Copeland has the same blunder; Mr. Cayley, bigoted to "rend," boldly follows out the idea by writing—

"Now I pray before Thee bending,
All to shreds my heart am rending."

Dean Disney's version also, though omitting the simile of *cinis*, is good—

"With broken heart, on bended knee,
My humble prayer I make to Thee,
Lord, let my end regarded be":

so, too, with the same reservation is the "Thomas à Kempis" version—

"My crouching knee doth humbly bend,
My panting heart doth trembling tend
Unto Thy grace to save me in the end":

and if a slight change may be made in the application of the word *cinis*, Mrs. Charles is best perhaps of all—

"Contrite, suppliant, I pray,
Ashes on my heart I lay,
Care Thou for me in that day."

Miss Cleveland's "Ashes all the heart I carry" is a rather unfortunate phrase.

With regard to that word *cinis* itself, *ashes*, as it is the

most common, so it is the best English; Mr. Mackellar adds the epithet *gray*: *clay* is not applicable, and *cinders*, though used by two or three, and even by Father Caswall, has a ludicrous¹ sound, and besides is incorrect; *cinis* is not a cinder or cinders. Nor is it beneath our dignity to remember that though coal was of course not unknown when Thomas of Celano wrote, yet in all probability *wood-ashes* were in his mind, to which as far as I know the word *cinders* is never applied. Again, how far more dignified a simile to compare the contrite heart, the worn-down heart, to the fine powder of wood-ashes, than as Father Caswall seems to do, to the rough, hard, cinder of coal! *Acclinis* I take to be not strictly speaking *prostrate*, as some have turned it; *bending*, *bowing*, *kneeling*, all which are common enough, are nearer to the true meaning.

The mistake just mentioned which many translators have made in the last line is in limiting the meaning of *finis* to that which we commonly call death—as an American version has it—

"'Fore Thee I bend in prayer profound,
My broken heart to ashes ground,
My death-bed let Thy love surround":

that is, the separation of soul and body, which very phrase is used by Mr. Hay in his paraphrase—

"Humbly bending, lowly weeping.
Head and heart with ashes heaping.
I implore with contrite heart
Aid when soul and body part":

¹ It had not, I suppose, when Bishop King wrote in the "Exequy on his Wife"—

"—till that day come
Which shall the earth to cinders doom."

And an instance of the use of "cinders" for the remains of the dead, as we now use "ashes," is an epitaph, date 1584, at Aylesbury. N. and Q., 7th S., iii. 505.

and which idea is brought very prominently forward in a various reading to the third version of Mr. Sweet—

"Humbly on my couch reclining,
With a heart contrite and broken,
Lord, I pray Thee, help my last end,"

and in Mr. Simms' version with the simple expression, "when I die." Though this is no doubt included, *finis* is *the end* in the widest sense, *i.e.*, the doom of the soul at the Day of Judgement, which forms the whole subject of the Hymn; as Dr. Stryker has shown clearly, though the sensational word *crashes* is objectionable—

"Pray I still, though shame abashes
All my contrite heart to ashes;
Care for me when doom-day crashes":

and there can be no possible objection to turning it as Carey has turned it in his triplets—

"This to obtain my knees I bend,
For this all my prayers I send;
Lord, take care of my last end":

or Crashaw in his couplets—

"My hope, my fear; my judge, my friend;
Take charge of me and of my end,"

and so retaining in the English the grand solemnity of ending which the Latin original has, and which in the course of a study of the Hymn will impress itself very forcibly on him who studies.

Line i.—Suppliant, 20: prostrate, &c., 15: low or lowly, 15: bend, &c., 16: bow, &c., 6: kneel, &c., 4: downcast, prone.

Line ii.—Contrite, &c., 22 : crushed, 11 : bruised, 3 : broken,
3 : scorched, dry : ashes, 22 : dust, 15 : cinders, 3 :
clay, 2 : embers, 1.

Line iii.—End, &c., 23 : death, &c., 16.

i8. Lacrymosa dies illa,
Quâ resurget ex favillâ,
Judicandus homo reus ;
Huic ergo parce, Deus :
Pie Jesu, Domine,
Dona eis Requiem.

It has already been shown that this so-called eighteenth verse is probably not part of the original Hymn, and thus some translators have omitted it altogether, though on the other hand more than might be expected have inserted it. But more freedom has been taken with it than with any other part, for the original metre of couplets has often been altered into the triplets of the Hymn's main body : it is perhaps a mistake to do this, for the change of metre is not without its beauty, and to give this up without a reason seems useless—musical considerations may probably in some cases have been the reason.

It is a want of exactness not to notice that the *favilla* of this eighteenth verse is of course the *favilla* of the first : Mr. Copeland's version brings this out very clearly, thus—

(First verse.)

“Day of doom, that day of ire ;
Earth shall sink in crumbling fire,

.

(Last verse.)

Day of tears, that day of ire,
Which shall from the crumbling fire

.” :

but several writers have passed it over, and instead of *earth's* ashes have made the *favilla* to be *man's* ashes, or modified their own idea into that of a grave or tomb, or even given it some "slight poetical amplification," as the late Dr. Dykes once euphemistically described wordiness, in some such way as this—

"O that day of lamentation
When from his *dark habitation*
Man shall rise to hear his sentence ;
Spare him, God, on his repentance."

"Day of *storm*" is a peculiar expression, of which I find one instance.

A translation which is, I believe, unique, is that of the three versions of Mr. Sweet, who has seemingly considered the Hymn in no other light than as a hymn to be sung at the performance of funeral rites, and has therefore been led to apply "*huic*" in the narrow sense of the soul whose body is then and there interred ; an application disproved by the plural *eis* : thus—

"Lord, in that day *our brother* keep ;
Jesu, great Shepherd of the sheep,
To Thy beloved give Thou sleep."

it is, however, an error : *homo* is mankind, and *huic* therefore of course the same.

Specimens of good translations are Mrs. Partridge, from "[R.C.] Hymns for the Year"—

"O that day of tears and trembling ;
From the dust of earth assembling
Sinners stand their doom receiving,
Spare them, God of mercy, spare them,"

and Isaac Williams—

"Full of tears the day shall prove
When, from ashes rising, move
To the judgement guilty men;
Spare, Thou God of mercy, then."

As an instance, though not of literalness of translation, of simple solemnity of diction, shall be given the conclusion of the American writer who calls himself "Somniator"—

"Full of tears shall dawn that day,
Risen man puts earth away,
Man awaiteth judgement's rod,
Spare him then, Almighty God":

and as examples of paraphrase these from some of the latest versions written—

"O day of days of weeping,
Of bitterness and cries,
When man from dust and ashes
To judgement shall arise,
Spare, Lord, and shew Thy pity
In that most dread assize."

—*R. W. Lowrie (N.Y.)*

"Since from the dust mankind shall rise
Upon that mournful day
To meet their Judge amidst the skies,
To Thee, O God, we pray,
Let their sustained souls Thy mercy see,
Jesu, our pitying Lord, O grant them rest in Thee."

—*D. T. Morgan.*

Nor are the two last stanzas of one of the earliest paraphrases (1817) unworthy of notice.

"Contrite I bow before Thy face,
O grant me Thy supporting grace,
That in what hour my life shall cease
My trembling soul may rest in peace.

For terrible will that day be,
 The dawn of immortality;
 When man shall meet the avenging rod,
 Or fly with rapture to his God."

The *Requiem*, as it is sometimes called *par excellence*, or the *Suspirium*, as Daniel names the two last lines, is what perhaps may be termed the most crucial point in the whole Hymn. Containing, as it does, a distinct "prayer for the dead," its translation instantly shews its translator's bias. The Roman Catholic writers of course turn it literally, and so do some Anglican Catholics, though not all even of these; the rest mostly adopt the easy and simple plan of turning *eis* as if it were *nobis*. One Roman Catholic has, as in a former verse, and with even less authority, gone out of his way to introduce purgatory—

"Spare me, Lord, Thy mercy shewing,
 Jesus, Thy sweet rest bestowing*
 On them *mid the clean flame glowing*."

And (a lighter comment) the professional ideas of Mr. Epes Sargent, the American barrister-poet, have been at the last too much for him, causing him to write¹—

"When, that day of tears impending,
 From his ashes man ascending
At Thy bar shall be attendant,
 Spare him, God, *spare the defendant*."

The best translation that I have found is both Roman Catholic and American, from the "[R.] Catholic Manual,"

¹ In the same way Dr. Coles the physician has written—

"When I enter death's dark portal,
 Feebly beats the *pulse aortal*."

N.Y., 1870, where the metre is changed to a ten-syllable line, thus—

“O bounteous Jesus, Lord for ever blest,
Give faithful souls departed endless rest.”

Mr. Simms' version on the other hand is a *six*-syllable triplet—

“Lord Jesu, to Thy knee
In life and death we flee;
Vouchsafe us rest in Thee,”

and it is the solitary instance of a return to triplets after the use of couplets in agreement with the original in the first part of the verse.

Mr. Hay in his paraphrase has kept the original Latin in the last line, thus—

“O that day of lamentation,
When in sudden consternation
All the doomed shall hide their face;
Spare them, spare them, God of grace:
Lord, we bend to Thee for them,
Dona eis requiem!”

The word *requiem* alone is also used by the “[R.] Catholic Choralist,” 1842, and Mr. Thomas, 1867. For printing *Dona eos requie* to preserve the rhyme—as it were “Gift them with rest”—I can, though I have once seen it done, find no authority.

It will be right to say a few words in conclusion on the Hammerlein addition: the stanzas, however, may be taken in groups, two, three, and two—

18. Lacrimosa die illa
Cum resurget ex favilla
Tanquam ignis ex scintilla,

19. Judicandus homo reus
Huic ergo parce, Deus,
Esto semper adjutor meus.

The translators, roughly speaking, are Coles and Irons, though the former is the only complete one, the latter being imperfect both at beginning and end. For, the two stanzas just given being formed by adding third lines to the original couplets, Dr. Irons has translated only the latter, as part of the original, not as remodelled by the additional lines. Hammerlein's additions, entailing also the changes of *die* for *dies*, and *cum* for *qua*, are unskilfully managed. The original states, "that day is a day of tears," and then proceeds, "*therefore* spare, O God"; but the alteration is, "*on* that day of tears, *when* man shall rise, &c.," thus leaving nothing for the "therefore" to refer to. Nor is the simile "*tanquam ignis ex scintilla*" well given; it seems to require, for it to hang together, the wrong notion above-mentioned, that the *favilla* is *man's* ashes. •

Coles' rendering of the first line, "On that day of woe and weeping," is his best line.

20. Quando cœli sunt movendi
Dies adsunt tunc tremendi,
Nullum tempus pœnitendi.

21. Sed salvatis læta dies,
Et damnatis nulla quies
Sed dæmonum effigies.

22. O tu Deus majestatis,
Alme candor Trinitatis,
Nunc conjunge cum beatis.

In these stanzas the expression *læta dies* has been noted, and supposed to shew Hammerlein's motive for making the

addition ; to bring forward, that is, the idea, not to be found in the original, of the day of judgement as a joyful day to the saved. It would seem, however, that he would have done so at more length than by a single word : there is a late hymn, *Dies iræ dies vitæ*, which actually is based on this idea : Schaff's "Christ in Song," p. 296 : it is translated in Mrs. Charles's "Voice of Christian Life."

Of the two translations, Coles is perhaps better in the two first of these stanzas, as more literal : "For repentance time denying" is certainly more literal than "It shall be no time to pray." But Irons is better in the last : what Dr. Coles thought he meant by "Trinity's serene reflection" is not very clear : "Alme candor Trinitatis" is of course merely equal to "Alma candida Trinitas" : and Irons renders, though not literally, "Holy, blessed Trinity."

23. Vitam meam fac felicem
Propter tuam genitricem
Jesse florem et radicem.

24. Præsta nobis tunc levamen,
Dulce nostrum fac certamen,
Ut clamemus omnes Amen.

The phrase used in the last line of the first of these stanzas is of course from the Vulgate of Isaiah xi. 1, taking the old interpretation which makes the "root" to be the Virgin Mary. For what cause, unless it be that unreasoning Protestantism which regards with horror her very name, Daniel has omitted these stanzas, I am unable to say : however, he has done so, and I have been obliged to take them from Dr. Coles' book. It may be that thus to introduce the Virgin's intercession was Hammerlein's reason for this addition : Mariolatry was arising in his days. But this, too,

would probably have been done at more length: and it is more likely to have been simply that same inability to enter thoroughly into the scope of the original and perceive its period, which in these days led a hymn-editor to add a fourth verse¹ to Cardinal Newman's "Lead kindly Light": both additions are partly tautological, and where they are not they are unnecessary.

Of Dr. Coles' solitary version, the only thing to be said is that the last line, about shouting Amen in chorus, is a very unpleasing one. There is no need to be so very literal in the translation of *clamemus*; why not *cry*, as *proclamant* is translated in the Te Deum? But the word *shout* used to be such an unaccountable favourite with Protestant hymn-writers, that one could almost wonder they did not wish to alter the Te Deum into "To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do shout." Witness that hymn of John Newton's which ends in the extraordinary aspiration—

"We hope to *die shouting* •
The Lord will provide."

Of translations into other languages I am unfortunately able to say very little: the German ones are by far the most numerous, as might be expected when it is remembered that German, next to English, is the most Protestant language of Europe. The earliest of them, like Sylvester's and Crashaw's with us, is not in triplets, and is more or less paraphrastic: this is by Martin von Cochem, 1613, and begins thus—

"An jenem Tag, nach David's Sag,
Soll Gottes Zorn erbrinnen:
Durch Feuers Flamm, muss allesamm,
Gleichwie das Wachs Zerrinnen":

¹ See the early editions of "The Hymnal Companion." In the third edition, 1890, I am happy to say it was struck out, at least from the body of the book: though the editor could not help printing it at the end and calling it a "Sequel."

another by Franz Xaver Riedel, 1773, is in a metre somewhat resembling that of Canon Husenbeth's paraphrase. There is one version in triplets by Andreas Gryphius in 1659, but they appear not to come into common use till about the beginning of this century, and more versions were made about that time than in England. The twelve versions of Lecke, the German Dr. Coles, have been already mentioned, and there are others by Schlegel, Bunsen, Mohnike, Simrock, Schaff, and less-known writers, of which the two first are said to be the best. Schlegel's may be found in Rambach's "Anthologie Christliches Gesang," i. 326, and Daniel gives two by Schmid and Von Seld. All written up to 1840 were collected by Dr. Lisco in "Hymnus auf das Weltgerichte"; but many have been made since then, and the total number seems to be now about a hundred. Dr. Schaff, in "Literature and Poetry," gives the first stanzas of about fifty.

By the same rule that the versions are chiefly found in the Protestant languages, there are several Dutch versions, which were also collected by Dr. Lisco in the work just mentioned: but in Roman Catholic languages there are fewer. In French, for instance (though *prose* versions are occasionally found in "Paroissiens," of which two specimens are given), I have seen but one translation in verse, and even that is paraphrastic.¹ It is of the date of 1702, and begins thus—

"O jour du Dieu vengeur, où pour punir les crimes
Un deluge brûlant sortira des abîmes,
Et le ciel s'armera de fondres et d'éclairs:

¹ Luke Wadding, in the "Annales Minorum," 1650, mentions an earlier one, "in versus Gallicos transtulit Benedictus Gononus Cœlestinus." I do not however know where this is to be found.

Quel trouble en tous les cœurs quand ce juge sévère
 Lancant de toute part les traits de sa colère,
 Sur un trône de feu paraîtra dans les airs."

The prose versions, placed parallel for the sake of easy comparison, are as follows:—

FROM A "PAROISSIEN ROMAIN,"

1777.

O jour de colère, jour auquel tout
 l'univers sera réduit en cendres,
 selon les oracles de David et les
 predictions de la Sybille.

O que la frayeur des mortels sera
 grande quand leur souverain
 Juge viendra, pour examiner avec
 la dernière exactitude toutes
 leurs actions.

Le son épouvantable de la trompette,
 retentissant jusqu'au centre
 de la terre, en fera sortir tous
 les morts pour comparoître au
 Tribunal du Jugement.

La nature entière et la mort même
 seront dans l'effroi, à l'instant
 que tous les hommes ressusciteront
 pour répondre devant
 leur redoutable Juge.

On fera l'ouverture de ce livre, qui
 renferme exactement tout ce que
 doit être la nature de ce terrible
 Jugement.

Alors le Juge assis sur son trône,
 tout ce qui étoit le plus caché
 paroîtra au grand jour, pour
 qu'aucun crime ne demeure impuni.

FROM A "PAROISSIEN ROMAIN,"

Dijon, 1852.

O jour de colère et de vengeance
 qui réduira en cendres tout
 l'univers, selon les predictions
 de David et de la Sybille.

Quelle sera la frayeur des hommes
 lorsque le souverain Juge paraîtra,
 pour examiner toutes leurs
 actions selon la rigueur de sa
 justice.

Le son éclatant de la trompette qui
 se fera entendre jusque dans les
 tombeaux, rassemblera tous les
 morts devant le tribunal du
 Seigneur.

Toute la nature et la mort même
 seront dans l'étonnement et
 l'effroi, lorsque les hommes ressusciteront
 pour répondre devant
 ce Juge terrible.

On ouvrira le livre où est écrit tout
 ce qui doit être la matière de ce
 Jugement formidable.

Et quand le Juge sera assis sur un
 trône, on verra à découvert tout
 ce qui étoit caché, et aucun
 crime ne demeurera impuni.

Moi malheureux que je suis, que dirai-je alors ? qui prierai-je pour intercéder pour moi, puisque les justes même ne paraîtront qu'en tremblant devant le Juge.

O roi des rois, de qui la majesté est si redoutable, qui sauvez gratuitement vos élus, sauvez moi, O source de toute bonté.

O doux Jésus, rappelez-vous que c'est pour moi que vous êtes venu du ciel en terre ; ne me perdez pas en ce jour redoutable.

Vous vous êtes lassé à force de me chercher, vous m'avez racheté par vos souffrances sur la croix ; faites que ces souffrances et votre mort me soient profitables.

O divin Juge, dont la justice est équitable et inflexible, n'attendez pas votre redoutable jugement pour m'accorder le pardon de mes péchés.

Je gémissais en votre présence coupable que je suis, mes péchés me couvrent de honte ; Seigneur, j'ai recours à vous, pardonnez-moi.

Vous avez pardonné à Magdelaine pécheresse, vous avez regardé d'un œil de miséricorde le bon larron, j'espère aussi en votre miséricorde, ne rendez pas mon espérance vaine.

Que dirai-je alors, malheureux que je suis ? qui prierai-je d'intercéder pour moi, auprès d'un Juge devant qui les justes ne paraissent qu'en tremblant.

O roi, dont la majesté est si redoutable, Dieu qui sauvez vos élus par une miséricorde toute gratuite, sauvez moi, O source de toute bonté.

Jésus, plein de tendresse, souvenez-vous que c'est pour moi que vous êtes descendu du ciel sur la terre ; ne me condamnez pas en ce jour terrible.

Vous avez bien voulu vous lasser en me cherchant, et vous avez souffert la mort de croix pour me racheter ; que je ne perds pas le fruit de vos travaux.

O Juge, qui punirez les crimes avec une justice inflexible, accordez-moi le pardon de mes fautes avant le jour de votre jugement.

Les péchés dont je suis coupable me font gémir et me couvrent de confusion ; pardonnez, mon Dieu, à un criminel qui implore votre miséricorde.

En remettant à la pécheresse toutes ses iniquités, et en exauçant la prière du bon larron, vous m'avez aussi donné lieu d'espérer en votre bonté.

Mes prières ne meritent pas d'être exaucées, mais votre bonté infinie me fait espérer que vous me preserverez du feu éternel.

Seigneur, séparez moi des boucs que vous réprouvez ; mettez-moi parmi vos brebis qui sont votre peuple chéri, que vous placez a votre droite.

Ne me confondez pas avec ces maudits réprouvés, condamnés aux flammes éternelles, mais mettez moi au nombre des élus, les bénis de votre Pere.

Humblement prosterné devant votre suprême majesté, le cœur contrit et comme réduit en cendres, je vous supplie, Seigneur, de prendre soin de ma dernière fin.

O jour terrible et déplorable, où l'homme coupable des péchés sortira du tombeau pour être jugé selon ses œuvres.

O Dieu de miséricorde, pardonnez lui ses péchés : Seigneur source de toute bonté, donnez a ceux pour qui nous nous interessons le repos éternel.

Ainsi soit il.

Je sais que mes prières sont indignes d'être exaucées, mais je m'appuie sur votre clémence en vous suppliant de ne point me condamner au feu éternel.

Séparez moi des boucs qui sont a votre gauche, et placez moi a votre droite avec les brebis.

Séparez moi de ces maudits que vous chasserez de devant vous, et que vous condamnerez a des supplices rigoureux, et appelez moi avec les bénis de votre Pere.

Prosterné devant votre majesté suprême avec un cœur contrit et humilié, je vous conjure, Seigneur, d'avoir pitié de moi au moment de la mort.

O jour redoutable, auquel l'homme coupable sortira de la poussière du tombeau pour être jugé par celui qu'il a offensé : pardonnez lui, O Dieu de miséricorde.

Seigneur Jésus plein de bonté, donnez leur le repos éternel.

Ainsi soit il.

It may be noted on these that in spite of the removal by the Paris Missal of the names of the Sibyl and Mary Magdalene, both versions in the first case, and the older in the second, retain the original readings.

There is a version in Italian by Luigi Galinetti, and

another in "La Lira Cattolica," 4th ed., 1886; but I know of none in Spanish or Portuguese. A Greek one was made by Daniel French, an Irish barrister, in 1842, and published in the "[R.] Catholic Magazine" (vol. vi.: Dolman, London). This is its first verse—

ἦως ὀργῆς, ἦως λυγρὰ
 πᾶν ποιήσει πῦρὸς σκῦλα
 βοῦ Δαβὶδ ξὺν Σιβύλλᾳ.

In Modern Greek one is given by Daniel, ii. 105; and even in Hebrew one, ii. 387. In Welsh one has been made by the Rev. Howel W. Lloyd mentioned above, who is a Welsh scholar of some distinction: it is given here as a curiosity, and one hitherto unprinted. The following extract is from a letter communicated by him: the notion is curious, but must stand as a mere guess, not to say a rather improbable one, till evidence is produced, of which there seems at present, at least in this letter, not to be a jot.

"A Welsh clergyman to whom I was indebted many years ago for instruction in the Welsh language, and who, besides being generally a good Welsh scholar and preacher, possessed a very large acquaintance with Welsh psalmody and hymnody, was of opinion that the triplet metre of the Dies Iræ was probably originally suggested by the Welsh metre called the 'Triban Milwr,' or Soldier's triplet, which was undoubtedly of very ancient origin, since some of the oldest compositions in the language which have come down to us were written in it, some of them, which bear every mark of genuineness, by Llywarch Hên, who lived in the latter part of the 6th or early in the 7th century."

The Welsh version is as follows¹:—

¹ Unluckily I know no Welsh: but my proof is corrected with great care from the very clearly written autograph of the translator, and I think I may safely say that it is not my fault if any error is still found.

Dydd y digter, dwys i 'r glust yw,
Hwn a ysa'r byd yn nistryw,
Dafydd a 'r Sifyl yn dyst yw.

Pa gresyned fydd y gryndod,
Pan y Brawdwr, gydâ syndod,
HOLA 'n fân pob gwaith y dyndod.

Seinia 'r Udgorn, fawr ryfeddod,
Trwy ardaloedd dwfn y beddrod,
Gwysir pawb i 'r farn-eisteddfod.

Syna Angau, a Naturiaeth,
Cyfyd yno 'r Creaduriaeth,
Ettyb pawb i 'r barnoduriaeth.

Dygir Uyfr-ysgrifen dwys-wir,
Ynddo 'n gyfan a gynhwysir,
Gan ba bethau 'r byd a bwysir.

Barnwr cyhoedd ei eisteddiad,
Ddwg i olen gûdd dirgeliad,
Argyhoeddir oll weithrediad.

Gennyf fi beth a leferir?
Pwy yn eiriol i 'm a welir?
Braidd y cywir a waredir.

Rhên dychrynlyd o fawrhydi,
Ti yn rhydd a rydd dosturi,
Ffynnon serch, Tydi achub fi.

Dal Di, 'r Jesu cu, adgofiad,
Bûm fi 'n peri Dy ddyfodiad,
Na wna m' o 'nof fi ddifrodiaid.

Yn fy ngheisio 'n flîn eisteddaist,
Ar y Groes-bren a 'm gwaredaist,
Nad fid ofer a oddefaist.

Duw ddialwr, Barnwr dynion,
Maddeu i mi 'meiau trymion,
Cyn fy nghyrchu 'r cyfrif cyfion.

Mae fy nagrau fi 'n dylifo,
Gan f' euogrwydd wyf yn gwrido,
Arbed, Arglwydd, fi 'n gweddïo.

Trosedd Madlen a faddëaist,
Ar edifar leidr wrandewaist,
Gobaith ynof a gynnëaist.

Gwall yw 'nolef gwael yn erfyn,
Gwël, er hynny, 'n dda fy nerbyn,
Rhag fy Uosgi 'r tân di-derfyn.

Gydâ 'r defaid gâd fy nghodi,
Nid â 'r geifr drwg fy nidoli,
Ar Dy ddehau law Dy foli.

Pan y cânt y rhai colledig
Flammau Uym, yn felldigedig,
Yno dwg fi 'n fendigedig.

Crwm wy 'n ymbil, o 'm gofalon,
Fal marwodyn, briw fy nghalon,
Bydd fy nawdd Di 'n nydd dïalon.

Deigrlawn fydd y dydd i 'r sulw,
Pan drachefn dêl dyn o 'r ulw,

Ef, rhag derbyn gwobr euogrwydd,
Arbed, Dduw, o 'th drugarogrwydd.

Arglwydd Jesu, radlawn dda,
Pâr iddynt Di 'r orphwysdra.

Of imitations, as distinct from both translations and paraphrases, a few may be found. There is a Latin one by John

Baptist de Santeuil (d. 1697), usually known as Santolius Victorinus from his monastery of St. Victor at Paris, and author, with his brother Claude (Santolius Maglorianus) and Charles Coffin, of many or most of the Paris Breviary hymns. It is a weak production, of which the following specimen may suffice: *quid sum miser tunc dicturus* is turned into—

"O quis relictum me mihi
 Illo die tuebitur?
 Pro me loqui quis audeat?
 Pæna repossunt crimina."

About 1700, when Philip, second grandson of Louis XIV. of France, became King of Spain by Charles II.'s will, and it appeared possible, his elder brother being still childless, that the crowns might be united in his person, some Romish fanatic wrote an irreverent and blasphemous parody on the Dies Iræ, setting forth his hopes of the downfall of England and Holland, and consequently of Protestantism, or Calvinism as he called it, which might result from such a union. If I do not mention this I shall probably be accused of forgetting it: but I am almost ashamed to speak of it, and should be quite ashamed to quote from it. They who are curious may refer, for extracts, to Daniel, v. 116: or to the fifth edition of Dr. Coles, 1868, who prints the whole, and actually translates it.

In English, a few imitations not generally known are given at the end of the collection of versions: there are others such as Henry Vaughan's in the "Silex Scintillans"; Dr. Watts also wrote a Sapphic Ode on the Day of Judgment. There are of course also many hymns more properly so-called, on the subject, which cannot properly be called imitations: the mere fact of the identity of subject must

necessarily cause more or less likeness of expression, though it need not follow that the modern English hymn is suggested by the older Latin one. The names of a few are given as specimens—

The partly anonymous "Great God what do I see and hear."

Wesley's "Lo He comes with clouds descending."

Olivers' "Lo He comes with clouds descending."

Newton's "Day of judgement, day of wonders."

La Trobe's "Day of vengeance, loud resounding."

"The great tremendous day is come." } Wesleyan.
 "That solemn day will soon arrive." }

Others even less directly suggesting the great Hymn may easily be found by reference to such collections as "The Book of Praise," Rogers' "Lyra Britannica," Kennedy's "Hymnologia Christiana," Snapp's "Songs of Grace and Glory." But it would be both needless and useless to print any at length.

It is also impossible to give all the mere verbal alterations which certain hymnals have made in the best-known versions. In two or three cases these alterations are so extensive that the result might almost rank as a new version: these are given hereafter, and a few others here and there mentioned. It is well known that hymn-editors are a great deal too fond of altering, and much of their alteration is simply ill-considered ravaging, if considered at all. My experience is that they always do what they ought not to do, and when there is a thing which really ought to be done, nothing will induce them to do it. This is strong language, but strong language is really wanted: I could prove what I say, and if there were room and time would do so. One of the worst

sinner was the late Rev. Thomas Darling, editor of "Hymns for the Church of England."

An idea which occurred to me several years ago was that of constructing an English Dies Iræ by way of cento: selecting, that is, the best translation of each stanza from among all the versions, or all that could be considered fit for the purpose, and arranging them as a whole. It might be done in many ways, and with a more or less degree of strictness or laxity: the only absolutely necessary stipulation would be to retain the triplets. But unless the cento were intended for music there could be no objection (as one or two translators, though not more, have already done) to varying from verse to verse between iambs and trochees, between single and double rhymes. I never carried out this idea, nor has it as far as I know been yet carried out with so great freedom: but partly I have been anticipated. The "Round Table," New York, 2d February, 1867, contained two such centoes, but merely from American versions, and those only of five writers. The subject was again mooted by Dr. Franklin Johnson in 1883 in his privately printed version (Cambridge, Mass.), in the following words, "Perhaps the Dies Iræ will not take a permanent place among English hymns till someone shall choose from the many translations the best stanzas of each, and shall weave his selections together: I venture to hope, as the utmost height of my anticipation, that when such a final version shall appear, a few of my lines may be found in it." But the idea was carried out in the fullest way yet done by a writer in the "Dublin Review," April, 1883. This writer there constructed no fewer than five centoes, retaining exactly the same metre throughout each. The first is in trochaic sevens, the second in iambic eights, the third and fourth in

trochaic eights (these names, rightly understood, of course shew the nature of the rhymes), the fifth is also in trochaic eights, but with limitation to Roman Catholic versions, the four former being Roman and Anglican alike. Of the five, the first appears the best: but the constructor's resources were limited: to begin with, no versions were considered except the fifty on which his essay was professedly written; of these, ten were at once excluded by their metre; and of the remaining forty, thirty only could be selected from, of which seventeen could give only one or two stanzas each. Thirteen versions thus make up nearly the whole of the five centoes.

And now with a quotation from Duffield's "Latin Hymns" (p. 252) I will close the present volume. It is long, but the extreme beauty of the language must excuse it: and may our thoughts be raised above the low ideas of rhyme and metre to which for a time they have been more or less kept down. The Hymn is a Judgement-hymn: but a Christian in faith and humble hope may look through and beyond the judgement to that which he trusts will for him succeed it. After the *Dies Ira* may come for him the *Ad perennis*.

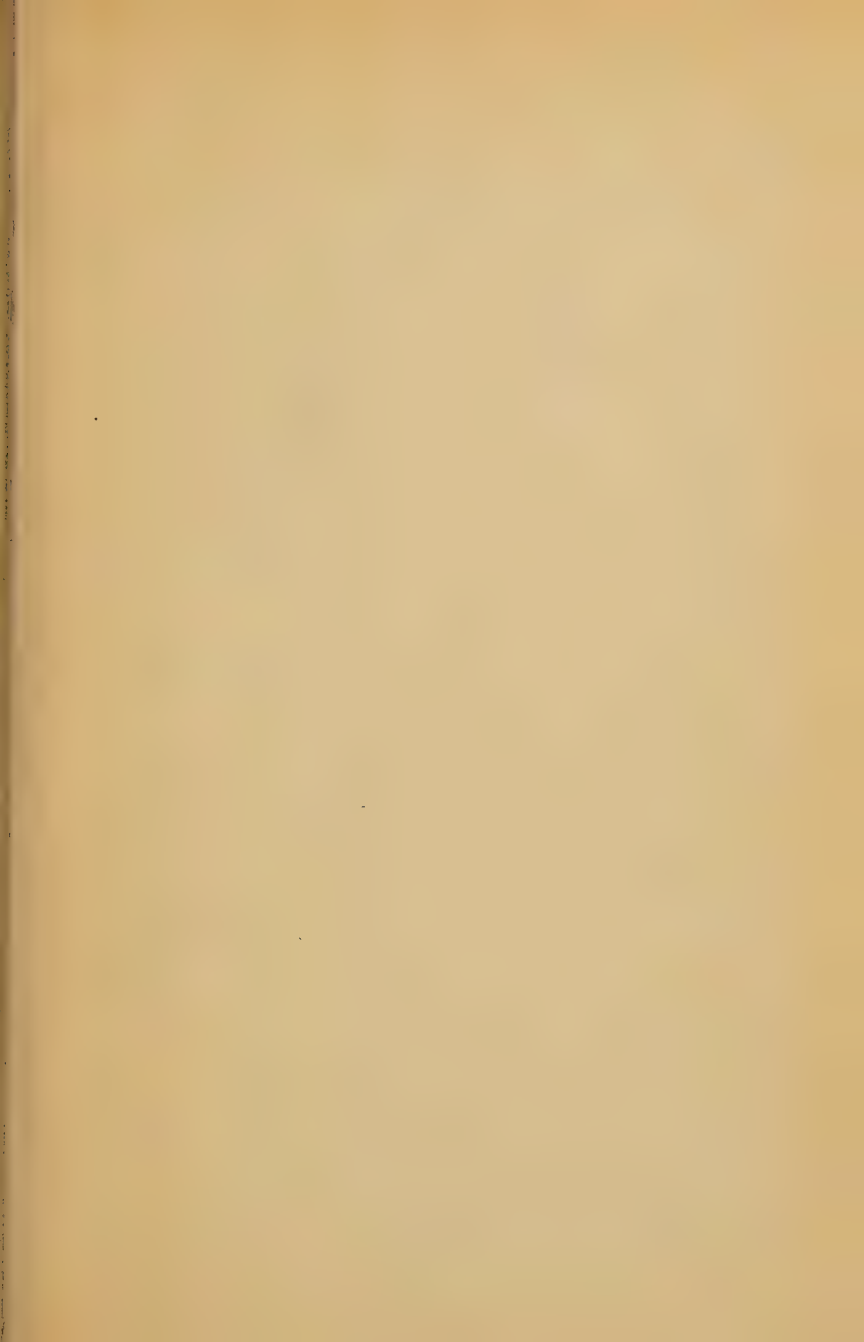
"It happened to me once to enter a crowded church, where presently a distinguished German divine arose to speak. Others had addressed the audience in English: but he, turning to his fellow-countrymen, began to pour forth a trumpet-strain of lofty eloquence in his native tongue. He spoke of the 'better valley,' of a happy and peaceful land. He seemed to see its broad and gentle river, and to hear the

chiming of its Sabbath bells. He peopled the air with its lovely citizens, and created about us the presence of its glorious joy. Faintly and brokenly, as now and then he uttered some familiar words, I could catch glimpses of that *besseres Thal*, and its brightness and beauty, and the awe of its holy calmness came upon me—upon me the stranger and the foreigner, in whose speech no word was said.

“But they who were of the lip and lineage of the land, they whose country was brought so near and whose hopes were raised on such strong and familiar wings—they truly were moved to the soul. I saw tears in their eyes; I heard their suppressed and labouring breath; I beheld their eager faces; and the glory of that land fell on them even as I gazed. So, though we cannot here perceive the fulness of the Franciscan’s Hymn, yet do we discern the stately splendour of MESSIAH’S throne, and •

‘Catch betimes with wakeful eyes and clear
Some radiant vista of the realm before us.’”

THE END.





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